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WEST EUROPE REPORT

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NEWSPAPER ATTACKS SOVIET EFFORT FOR NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 10 Mar 81 p 20

[Editorial: "Nuclear Weapons in the Northern Hemisphere"]

[Text] The discussions about a nuclear-free zone in Nordic countries are not anything new, and discussions about that have more than once taken place at the Nordic Council summits. In that regard the Leftists from all the Nordic Countries are the ones who think the Nordic nations should set a good example in international affairs by declaring unilaterally that no nuclear weapons be stationed within their borders. The debates about security matters at the Nordic Council summits usually end in a remainder of the Finns' still-valid wish that the Nordic Council is not the right arena in which to deal with this aspect of foreign affairs. It is noteworthy that at the summit in Copenhagen last week, an agreement about further efforts in this matter was reached among all those who are the farthest to the left at the Nordic legislative assemblies. At that assembly the People's Alliance aligned itself with the Swedish and Finnish Communists, true to its origin.

Leftists have again and again been reminded of the fact that it is useless to discuss a nuclear-free zone in the northern hemisphere unless the Russians be part of that zone. Nowhere in the Nordic countries are there any nuclear weapons. It is clear, however, that at the border of Norway and Finland the Soviets have accommodated a great supply of nuclear weapons. The greatest arsenal in the world is at the Kola peninsula where the Soviets have nuclear weapons both on land and aboard submarines. If people are interested in getting rid of nuclear weapons in the vicinity of the Nordic countries, they should concentrate on getting the Soviet government to reduce their arsenal of nuclear weapons and move all nuclear weapons and move all nuclear weapons away from the Kola peninsula. One-sided statements issued by the Western countries saying that they do not intend to ensure their security with all possible means if attacked are only inclined to weaken their position and thereby create the danger of an aggression from the one who is not prepared to give in on anything.

We know very well from our own experience how leftists and communists try again and again to create a political hurricane because of nuclear weapons. The debates about these matters here in the country last summer demonstrate that clearly. All peace-loving people want to promote the limitation of these threatening weapons in

a pragmatic manner. The erratic behavior of the communists, who look with the blind eye through the binoculars where the Soviets are concerned, only promotes suspicion in such an atmosphere. No permanent results can be expected in such an atmosphere. For example it does not bode well about what is to follow that Maria Thorsteinsdottir, an employee of the NOVOSTI propaganda center of the Soviet Embassy in Iceland, writes praise about the Soviet Union at the same time she preaches that the Western countries will be the first to drop the nuclear bomb.

9583

CSO: 3111

HALLGRIMSSON ATTACKS PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE ON SECURITY ROLE

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 25 Feb 81 p 18

[Article: "Geir Hallgrimsson: Does the People's Alliance Have Veto Power in Security Affairs?"]

[Text] Contrasting statements issued by the ministers call for clear answers to parliament and the nation concerning this point.

As a result of statements issued in the mass media by some ministers and supporters of the government about a secret agreement or an unpublished arrangement by members of the current administration concerning decisions about projects at Keflavik Airport and the nation's security matters, and even concerning treatment of major matters in general within the administration, I want to direct the following questions to the prime minister and the chairmen of the People's Alliance and the Progressive Party, said Geir Hallgrimsson, chairman of the Independence Party, in parliament yesterday.

Was an agreement made, written or verbal, at the formation of the current government or later, stating that projects at the Keflavik Airport or for the benefit of the Defense Force would not be allowed except with the agreement of all parties supporting the government?

Do any regulations exist that have been made by the administration or the ministers that have not been published stating that the government will not make any decision in major matters unless all government parties agree?

The following answers given by the ministers included neither an admittance nor a denial of the existence of such a back-agreement that was being questioned.

Statements of Ministers and Administrators in the Mass Media

Hallgrimsson referred to an interview with Olafur Johannesson, foreign minister, that was published in TIMINN 12 February 81, in which the minister says that "there is no word about the People's Alliance having a special position in the administration" when it comes to defense matters and projects for the Defense Force. Then Hallgrimsson refers to the TIMINN which quotes Johannesson: "But he had not been told either that any secret agreement had been made on this point.

The People's Alliance can therefore not blame him if they feel that they have been shortchanged in connection with this."

Prime Minister Gunnar Thoroddsen said in MORGUNBLADID 13 February 81: "I don't want to comment on that (that is whether a secret agreement does exist). I think there is no reason to discuss the topics of conversations in connection with the forming of the government. What is available publicly is the government manifesto."

Steingrímur Hermannsson, chairman of the Progressive Party, said in the MORGUNBLADID that same day: "No, there is no arrangement between the government supporters about these matters" The paper says further: Steingrímur [Hermannsson] said that no agreement parallel to the manifesto had been made about the fact that all members of the administration had to support the matters being worked on."

Svavar Gestsson, chairman of the People's Alliance, says on the other hand in the THJODVILJINN that same day: "It should also be emphasized that there are also regulations between the current government supporters concerning the working methods of the administration in general, which must be respected by all and concern all major issues."

MORGUNBLADID further quoted an unknown member of the People's Alliance: "At the time of the forming of the government, a written agreement was made about two points: firstly, that the prime minister does not apply dissolution power without the agreement of all parties of the government coalition; and secondly, that no major decision be made against the will of one of the government coalition parties. This agreement was signed by the prime minister and the chairmen of the People's Alliance and the Progressive Party."

On Saturday, 14 February, MORGUNBLADID quoted Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson, chairman of the People's Alliance parliamentary group, that it had been stated in the parliamentary group how the administration would work. About a written agreement he said: "I do not want to comment on that at this stage; this is an agreement the government parties have made."

In the same interview Grímsson says about the projects that have been discussed, "These are such gigantic changes that they are out of the question from our point of view," and "We consider this to be an issue that needs to be discussed between the Progressive Party and the People's Alliance." It arouses great attention, said Hallgrímsson, that Grímsson does not mention the third coalition party, but that forgetfulness speaks for itself.

With reference to what I have now stated, I want to ask the prime minister, minister of fisheries and minister of health and social security the aforementioned questions. I think that members of parliament and the whole nation, in fact, have the right to demand clear and unambiguous answers to these questions regarding the nation's security affairs and perhaps other major issues.

The Answers of the Three Ministers

Gunnar Thoroddsen, prime minister, said: "From the time the government was formed, it has endeavored to cooperate fully on all levels. The administration endeavors to reach an agreement about issues where opinions differ and people may disagree. It has been quite successful during the full year the government has been in power, and there are no signs aloft that it might change. I do not feel that there is any reason to discuss here any further the working methods and work application within the administration."

Svavar Gestsson, minister of health and social security, said: "The inquiry about the working methods within the administration has been answered appropriately by the prime minister. At this time I have nothing to add to what the prime minister said."

Steingrímur Hermannsson, minister of fisheries, said: "I refer to the answers given by the prime minister and I have nothing to add."

Regret the Statements and Position Taken by the Prime Minister

Benedikt Grondal (A) [Social Democratic Party] said that significant question had been posed in a parliamentary manner by a chairman of a political party. The questions are of a nature that both the parliament and the nation have an unquestionable right to definite answers. The question is not about the internal working methods of the administration but whether a back agreement, parallel to the government manifesto, has been made on one of the most important issues facing the nation. The question is if Icelandic democracy has reached the point where a minority party, supported by about 20 percent of the voters, has secured a veto power for themselves in an area connected with the nation's security affairs.

Grondal said that a long-time tradition prescribed how these types of matters are handled within the work scope of the foreign minister. Have these matters been negotiated behind the back of the current foreign minister who is responsible for them? I regret that the prime minister has reacted the way he did to these questions that should have been answered factually and unambiguously.

Silence Speaks for Itself

Geir Hallgrímsson (S) [Independence Party] said that the silence of the three ministers speaks for itself and certain conclusions may be drawn from that. Here the prime minister has in fact answered, if it can be called an answer, on behalf of both the People's Alliance and the Progressive Party. As I stated earlier, the chairmen of both those parties have, however, expressed themselves on this matter in the mass media in a way that their statements are contradictory. Therefore I directed my questions to the prime minister as well as to them. The chairman of the Progressive Party has asserted in the mass media that no back agreement existed; the chairman of the People's Alliance has asserted the opposite and besides, he said, there were regulations regarding the handling of matters that everybody had to respect. Gestsson's statements confirm the

existence of a secret agreement. Hermannsson's statements do not. The prime minister does not at all clear up the matter.

While we do not receive outright answers, we must assume that the foreign minister has full and unlimited power, in accordance with a long tradition, to make decisions concerning construction of hangars and a supply station in Helgavik. The opposition of the People's Alliance is not based on anything if the government manifesto alone is used as a point of reference, but the manifesto only covers the construction of a terminal.

It Goes Too Far

Prime Minister Thoroddsen said he found it quite strange to hear that those two members of parliament, Hallgrímsson and Grondal, were speaking on behalf of the parliament. Furthermore, it really went too far when they started speaking in the name of the whole nation. According to provisions in the constitution, they are at liberty to bring forth a proposal for establishing a committee to investigate a conceivable secret agreement made at the time the government was formed. The question here is not posed to obtain information, but rather to create dissent within the administration. The administration has as its main policy to seek an agreement in those matters where parties differ.

What Has the Foreign Minister Done to Deserve This?

Sighvatur Björgvinsson (A) [Social Democratic Party] said it inevitable that the question would arise about whether one of the coalition parties that was supported by less than one-fifth of the nation had been given the veto power on important issues that are the responsibility of the minister of another political party, the foreign minister. No investigative committee is needed here, only a simple answer: yes or no. The state of affairs in the Progressive Party is such, said Björgvinsson, that the chairman (Hermannsson) and the leader of the parliamentary group (Páll Petursson) receive a delegation from the People's Alliance, a delegation that has as its only mission to submit a grievance against the foreign minister, the former chairman of the Progressive Party. This is how low the party has stooped under the new leadership.

The responses given by the ministers does not at all refute what certain spokesmen of the People's Alliance have implied, namely that a secret agreement does exist, a secret agreement that gives the Communists veto power in certain security matters of the nation, a secret agreement that is made behind the back of the foreign minister himself. The responses given by the ministers support these suspicions much more than they reduce any suspicions.

The Progressive Party Supports the Foreign Minister

Minister of Fisheries Hermannsson said that the Progressive Party stood united behind the decisions made by the foreign minister on issues on foreign affairs.

The debate did not end as the president postponed any further debates while there were still some parliamentary members who had not spoken, among them Kjartan Johannsson, chairman of the Progressive Party. It aroused attention that no members of the coalition parties participated in this debate aside from the ministers.

9589

CSO: 3111

DEFENSE COMMITTEE MP URGES TOUGHER STAND TOWARD USSR

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 19 Feb 81 p 5

[Excerpt] "We must be careful not to act, through heedlessness or evasiveness, in such a way as to incur new commitments that limit our freedom of action. In our nearness to the Soviet Union we must count on a steady pressure to move in that direction," said Lars Roar Langslet (H [Conservative]), member of the Storting committee on foreign affairs, in a speech yesterday.

A firm, clear, consistent attitude that is neither aggressive nor evasive is respected in the east, Langslet said, and will offer the best point of departure for constructive contact. He warned against lack of clarity and against compliance, which in his view would invite pressure and manipulation in advance of real negotiations.

"It is NATO solidarity that gives us backing to withstand pressure. But we must never forget that when all is said and done it is our own backbone that counts; if it is not strong enough, and if our own capacity for firmness and foresight gives way, nobody else can guarantee us against making mistakes that can cost us dearly in the form of weakened self-determination," Langslet said. "It would undeniably be paradoxical for us to weaken our own freedom of action in a situation where the oil and the big sea areas under Norwegian sovereignty have given us opportunities to play a bigger part than before."

In the coming negotiations concerning the final dividing line in the Bering Sea and concerning the Svalbard shelf it is essential for Norway to act in close understanding with our partners in the alliance, Langslet emphasized. It has hardly furthered our cause that we have almost made a virtue of the opposite--to show that we are a completely independent negotiating partner. Such an attitude can lead to the independence's becoming real.

Such perspectives should also be given great weight as patterns are gradually established for the oil exploitation in the north. If we give other western countries access to participation here, it may be more difficult for the Russians to exert unilateral pressure on Norway. It would provide a more secure foundation for exercise of Norwegian sovereignty if other western countries also had direct interests linked to the area.

8815

CSO: 3108

USSR HAS NOT YET SPELLED OUT NUCLEAR-ARMS-FREE ZONE POSITION

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Mar 81 p 8

[Commentary by Olav Trygve Storvik]

[Text] If we ignore the domestic political motives that are also behind the proposal for an atom-free zone in the Nordic area, the objectives of such a zone should be greater security for all parties at a reduced level of forces. If that view of the purpose does not establish itself internationally in spite of the domestic political aspects, the idea will hardly attain any significance outside of the internal party debate in some Nordic countries.

But repeated statements from the circle surrounding Ambassador Jens Evensen that it is "unrealistic" to have an atom-free zone in the North include Soviet areas may lead to international doubt about how seriously the proposal is meant. Even though responsible Norwegian authorities have taken a different position, the Evensen group's activities can create impressions, e.g. in Moscow, that it is useful to "play on" Scandinavian opinion, so as to get the opposing party to write off in advance an important negotiating objective.

In a lecture before the Tromsø Defense Association, Lt Gen Tjane Huitfeldt discussed the problems connected with the proposal of an atom-free zone in the Nordic area. Huitfeldt points out that in responsible Norwegian quarters there is nobody that imagines that it is possible to draw the Soviet strategic atomic weapons into the negotiations, nor the atomic weapons that can be used both against the Nordic area and against other parts of the world. But there are also a large number of Soviet atomic weapons that are aimed every day at and can be conceivably used only against Nordic countries, an area that is free of atomic weapons in peacetime. Is it really "unrealistic" to demand that these weapons be removed?

The answer to that question can be sought only in Moscow, after negotiations in which the Russians learn what they can get in return for any concessions. To bring that about, the negotiations probably must be set in a larger European context. It is therefore surprising that a prominent official and politician like Evensen is already giving us the Russians' answer to that question now. In such a vitally important field as security policy a guarantee from a great power that an atom-free zone's status will be respected is not enough. In peacetime it is easy to give written guarantees, but whether they will hold up in a crisis situation is another matter. Before anyone commits himself to establish an atom-free zone it should be a minimum demand that the Soviet Union give concrete *evidence*

of its intentions, and preferably that the atomic threat be removed entirely.

The latter is not possible, since most of the Soviet atomic weapons in our vicinity enter into the strategic balance with the United States, which it is in the Norwegian interest to maintain. But there remain a good many atomic weapons on planes and vessels, which by virtue of their mobility can enter into the strategic balance and can also be conceivably used against other parts of the world than the Nordic area. *These can also be used against the Nordic area*, even if the Soviet Union should go along with removing the tactical land-based atomic rockets that are *exclusively* capable of being used against Nordic countries: Therefore any atom-free zone in which the Soviet Union agrees to removing the atomic weapons that are directed against the Nordic area will not involve greater *military* security for the Nordic countries. We shall still have to live with the possibility that atomic weapons may be used against the Nordic area.

Still, Soviet willingness to pull back these weapons could have a psychological effect on the relations between the superpowers and promote a political climate of détente which would indirectly affect the security policy situation in the Nordic area and possibly the rest of Europe.

At present we know little about Moscow's attitudes on this question. Ever since President Kekkonen first made known his thoughts about an atom-free zone in the Nordic area, Soviet spokesmen have been expressing the Kremlin's willingness to guarantee a zone's status, but at the same time rejecting the idea that the zone would include Soviet areas. Reidar Larsen, former chairman of the NKP [Norwegian Communist Party], describes in his book "Styrt fra Moskva?" [Directed by Moscow?] a conversation with Boris Ponomarev, secretary of the Central Committee. Ponomarev said that it would not do to include Soviet areas in an atom-free zone, since that would weaken the Soviet Union in relation to the United States. The Soviet Union could not be asked to disarm its northern regions to get an agreement with Nordic countries that have no atomic weapons, he said.

But neither Ponomarev nor other Soviet spokesmen have been entirely clear in their answers, possibly because they still have not received direct questions about thinning out certain types of atomic weapons in the north--in a larger European context.

8815

CSO: 3108

PAPER DEFENDS DETENTE EFFORT AT EUROPEAN SDP MEET

LD251613 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 23 Mar 81 p 4

[Editorial: "Party Cooperation in West Europe"]

[Text] Last week a new round of talks between representatives of Social Democratic Parties in various West European countries took place in Oslo. The talks focused on East-West relations and the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The discussions on these topics will continue in Brussels in May.

There have been some doubts raised about the intentions behind and the goals of these regular talks. Both within NATO and here in Norway there have been insinuations that the Social Democratic Parties are engaging in some form of lobbying activities or pursuing some sectional end within the alliance. AFTENPOSTEN claimed last week that we are faced with a so-called "small state collaboration." In this connection it could be useful to emphasize a number of obvious points.

Representatives of the Danish, Dutch, Belgian and Norwegian Social Democratic Parties form the backbone in this loosely constituted group. On the basis of the acknowledgment that East-West relations are more frozen than they have been for a long time and that we perhaps are facing an even more gigantic arms race between the superpowers than at any previous time in postwar history, these parties have assessed the situation as so serious that no attempt must be left untried in efforts to bring the Soviet Union and the United States to their senses.

The West European Social Democratic Parties also represent a common approach in their views on the great unsolved international questions. It would be simply mad not to try all the possibilities there are to bring the superpowers to the negotiating table. The talks being held at party level in Western Europe are a small contribution to this endeavor.

We are not witnessing some form of schism within NATO, nor is there any talk of engaging in lobbying. It goes without saying that these parties, like others, are loyal to the decisions a united alliance represents.

Talk of "small state collaboration" falls by its own absurdity, because individual parties connected with this loosely constituted group are not even in government positions.

Through the active international work carried out by the Socialist International, the Social Democratic Parties have fully demonstrated that they play a significant role in the global arena. The party cooperation which has developed through the discussion group now established originates in many ways in the mutual understanding which exists within the Socialist International.

The resolution adopted by NATO on a combination of deployment and negotiations was in many ways a result of strenuous efforts by the West European Social Democratic Parties. It is now beginning to be a matter of great urgency that these negotiations be started, since deployment will take place in 1983. Active endeavors to bring the two sides to the negotiating table is a joint responsibility for the whole alliance. The Social Democratic Parties can help to speed up the process through their consultations.

It goes without saying that the Social Democratic Parties recognize that conflicting opinions within NATO could give the Kremlin a few gratuitous points. It is therefore that much more important that the opposition both here in Norway and in other West European countries does not try to score cheap points by depicting the present cooperation as some form of schism. This social democratic cooperation is--to stress it once again--intended as an honest effort to bring our part of the world out of a seriously threatening situation. And the talks represent a positive contribution to these endeavors.

CSO: 3108

'AFTENPOSTEN' ENDORSES GENERAL'S COMMENTS ON NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE

LD261611 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 24 Mar 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Preventing War"--words in slantlines in italics in original]

[Text] The notion of Norway and the Nordic countries as a nuclear-free zone has caused one of our most prominent defense experts to make a number of clearly admonitory, very timely observations. We are referring to former NATO military committee chairman Gen H. F. Zeiner Gundersen's article in AFTENPOSTEN last Friday (20 March).

We are happy to repeat some of the general's central points, which are crucial if we are to undertake a sober assessment of this question, the most important thing is that since the NATO defense alliance came into being in 1949 there has since been a territorial balance between East and West. The community which Norway joined at that time through a membership commitment has up to now put an effective stop to the Soviet Union's expansion westwards.

An important contributory factor to the absence of military conflicts in Europe in the last 35 years has probably been the /overall/ balance--of conventional and nuclear arms taken together--between East and West up to and into the seventies. At present there continues to be an approximate balance as far as nuclear arms are concerned, while the Eastern bloc has preserved its dominance in the field of conventional forces.

When the actual situation is such that we are inferior in terms of conventional arms, it would have no war-preventive effect to declare the Nordic countries--and therefore Norway--to be a nuclear-free zone, perhaps the reverse. As the general stressed: Let us not tempt anyone to make an attack by transforming a stable situation into an unstable one. History shows that vacuums are filled.

As a NATO member Norway is bound by the common political strategy--preventing war. Similarly we have also committed ourselves to the military strategy the defense alliance will follow /if/ it is attacked, namely "a flexible defense pursued aggressively [fremskutt]." The establishment of a "nuclear-free zone in the Nordic countries"--which in peacetime /is/ free from nuclear arms unlike nearby Soviet territories--would scuttle this strategy, which would then no longer be of concern to Norway. We must say that we agree with General Zeiner Gundersen that the logical consequences in such a case would be to leave NATO--but that our country cannot afford to pay such a price, even if it was done in the name of disarmament.

For real disarmament requires reciprocity, a real desire for arms limitations on both sides.

Unfortunately experience, including that from the last few years, shows that such developments can only be promoted by showing sufficient strength. Storting Defense Committee Chairman Per Hysing-Dahl is therefore obviously right when he, for his part, points out: We must continue to seek peace and negotiation on the basis of a balance of strength, solidarity and a common determination within the NATO alliance.

The desire to prevent war--both conventional and nuclear--is of course as urgent for the general and the Storting member as it is for those who want to declare the Nordic countries nuclear-free. For what the Defense Committee Chairman points out is correct; no one in our country can claim with any right to have a greater desire and concern for peace than anyone else.

This fact too should contribute to a more sober approach to our security policy debate.

CSO: 3108

NEW LOBBYING GROUP WANTS PLEBISCITE ON NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 2 Mar 81 p 3

[Report by Liv Hegna]

[Text] The action group "No to Atomic Weapons" is mobilizing with all its might. To begin with, information will be distributed about the group's objectives, which are an atom-free zone in the Nordic area, no atomic weapons in Norway in wartime, and dismantling of atomic weapons in East and West. District Judge Arne Haugestad, who is a member of the board of the group, is advocating a gigantic signature campaign with the politicians as the target group. "But that is not enough. There must also be a plebiscite," Haugestad said at a seminar held by the group.

"The fighting spirit is there. The forces will gather for a fight against atomic weapons," Odd Bach, vice chairman of the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union, said in winding up the 3-day seminar held by the leadership of the campaign "No to Atomic Weapons" last week end on the Oslo University campus. He said he was convinced that the action group would break through and wipe out the so-called "atomic weapon strategy":

"Up to now it has been like a chess game in which nobody dares make the first move. But we refuse to risk living in the pitiful ruins of a civilization that has committed suicide," Bach said, and pointed out that every rational counter-argument must fail against the moral message that "No to Atomic Weapons" embodies.

Prof Erik Alfsen, as a member of the board of the action group, pointed out that "the fight has not yet been won": "Our opponents are also mobilizing. They are publishing articles in the press, and they come forward at our meetings and make counter-proposals. A new 9 April, Norway will be laid open, unreliability in our argument. We listen to all arguments, and it does not help much for us to emphasize that it is not unilateral disarmament we want, that we demand dismantling of atomic weapons in East and West," said Alfsen. He opened the seminar with the three main slogans, dismantling of atomic weapons in East and West, no atomic weapons in Norway in peace or war, and the Nordic area as an atom-free zone, and emphasized the importance of the popular movement's members' not basing their actions on new defense concepts for Norway.

At a press conference after the seminar, however, Alfsen said that there are elements in NATO's defense plans that are not in the Norwegian interest, including the alliance's atomic strategy:

"We want to get rid of atomic weapons, but we do not wish to work against Norwegian membership in NATO," Alfssen pointed out. In answer to AFTENPOSTEN's question whether he did not fear that such an action group as "No to Atomic Weapons" could easily be used for purely partisan political purposes of extremist groups that want Norway to get out of the western alliance, the answer was: "We are trying hard to avoid that!"

Anyway, it is the politicians that are the "popular movement's" target group. In time to come members of parliament must be prepared to have searching questions asked about what they think of the various questions with which "No to Atomic Weapons" is concerned. The answers will be publicized as much as possible, so that "people will know what they are voting for this fall," as the leadership of the action group says. Judge Arne Haugestad, who is a member of the board of the popular movement, emphasizes that most of the work must be done at the bottom.

Haugestad advocated a signature campaign to start with, but agreed with many others present that in the long run a plebiscite must be demanded on prohibition of atomic weapons in Norway in peace and war.

8815

CSO: 3108

POLL SHOWS DROP IN SUPPORT FOR NATO

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 5 Mar 81 p 3

[Text] FOLK OG FORSVAR's latest opinion poll on the attitude toward Norwegian membership in NATO reveals a weakening of people's estimate of NATO as a peace-ensuring defensive alliance as compared to earlier polls. However, Erik Senstad, bureau chief in the Ministry of Defense, warns NTB [Norwegian News Agency] against considering that opinion poll as an accurate picture of opposition to or support of NATO, as FOLK OG FORSVAR does.

The survey was made by Norwegian Market Data in November 1980 and had been published earlier. The opinion poll came after a long public debate over stockpiling of American military materiel in Norway. Of the 1,499 persons asked, 60 percent thought that the NATO membership "contributes to safeguarding the country against attack by a foreign power." That is 6 percent fewer than in the previous poll, in January 1980, just after the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan.

At the same time the survey shows a definite increase in the opinion that membership in the alliance increases the danger of an attack on Norway. Fourteen percent of those asked answered that membership in NATO "increases the danger of attack," while only 7 percent gave the same answer in January. The opinion that NATO membership increases the danger of attack had never before registered as high as in the poll in November 1980. FOLK OG FORSVAR began such polls 14 years ago.

8815

CSO: 3108

SECURITY POLICY TO BE A MAJOR ISSUE IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 14 Mar 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Security policy will be made into a central issue in the election campaign. The recently founded action group "For You Against the Rightist State" has promised that. The group was started by union shop stewards belonging to the Labor Party and the Socialist-Left Party. At a press conference the other day it was declared that there are oceans of difference between what the labor movement and the Conservative Party stand for in that connection. As far as the Socialist-Left Party's defense and security policy is concerned, the statement is undoubtedly correct. And we find that nothing to complain about at all.

But what about the responsible forces in the governing party--do they feel entirely comfortable in that company? Have they judged the wisdom of the strategy the action group is pursuing?

It is precisely defense and security questions that constitute a traditional subject of conflict on the left in Norwegian politics. That conflict was the decisive factor in the break 20 years ago when the Socialist People's Party came into being. Throughout the postwar period, broad agreement prevailed between the Labor Party and the non-socialist parties on all essential questions in that field. And that unanimity was an inestimable strength for our country. At present we cannot see that the conservative forces under attack have done anything but maintain that common course, in which NATO membership--with obligations and self-imposed limitations--is a cornerstone. The foremost exponent of that line was the Labor Party's Halvard Lange, who was minister of foreign affairs from 1946 to 1965.

But that practically makes one a war-monger, according to the activist Labor Party and SV [Socialist-Left] shop stewards. That suddenly represents arms build-up and increased tension. While "the labor movement" is oceans away. It is for disarmament and détente. A straightforward line of demarcation for the election campaign!

Like other groups within the governing party, these activists want to try to prepare the ground for a so-called Nordic atom-free zone. Independent of broader European solutions, with no understanding for any coordination with our alliance partners--and with no concern worth mentioning for the prevailing military imbalance in that alliance's disfavor in important areas.

The long-term strategy of the real leftist forces is well known. A clearer and clearer equals sign is to be placed between atomic weapons, danger of war, and NATO in the people's consciousness. Opposition will increase, and Norway's western connections will be broken--slowly but surely. Every "broad campaign" will be used to the maximum for that purpose. All experience shows this.

For the time being the government and the Labor Party leadership have a somewhat unclear position with regard to their own different statements about atom-free zones. That is not a bad point of departure for an intensified campaign in the plants and workshops--directed by Labor Party and SV people in splendid unity. Here the latter will get greater opportunities than they have had for a long time to gain ground with their "security policy." Against the war-mongering rightist forces. In a heated election campaign.

Is it quite certain that all this will not ring a warning bell in the Labor Party organization?

8815

CSO: 3108

INTERNATIONAL TIES WITH ITALIAN TERRORISM

Terrorist Contacts Reviewed

Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 8 Feb 81 pp 10-14, 130

[Article by Mauro Calamandrei: "From Cuba to Tripoli, From Prague to Sofia"]

[Text] Rome--For 5 years two specters have been roving over Europe. The garb and face of one--the armed parties and terrorist groups--are now known to us. The other, however, continues to range over the continent half veiled; now it is detected, now apparently identified, now about to be unmasked, but still it remains beyond our grasp. This is the specter incognito that stands behind the first specter--its protector, or better protectors, those who supply European terrorism with aid, advice, and arms, who decide what objectives to attack, who provide the terrorists with money and refuge. Are they the "foreign centers", defined by Sandro Pertini in mid-January, and not for the first time? Do such "foreign centers" actually exist? Which ones? Where? How do they operate? And for whom?

From the PCI to PSI, CD, and the common folks, everyone in Italy is demanding precise information on this alarming matter. In the parliamentary debate about to begin, we do not yet know whether the government will satisfy this choral command, whether it can say in truth that the Soviet Union foments terrorism in the West and, if so, whether it does so directly or through friendly allied nations, which nations, and by what methods and procedures.

On this subject we have tried to collect together the whole mass of the data, evidence, elements, and suggestions which have emerged more fully and insistently in the recent past. The sources are widely divergent, from "reserved reports" to books of reportage, such as the volume written by the American journalist Claire Sterling, not yet issued but already highly publicized, who took her facts from the dossiers of secret services in half of Europe (those parts, at least, that they allowed her to use) and from direct research in Italy. With this material we have compiled an atlas of what someone has called "The Union of the Soviet Terrorist Republics": Cuba, Libya, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, South Yemen, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its various currents, and Albania. Also France and the United States, which certainly cannot be included among Moscow's satellites.

Cuba

According to CIA information transmitted to the Western governments, the Cubans began training Palestinian, German, Italian, Spanish, French and Basque terrorists as far back as 1962, but not until 1968 did the Russians take over direct and complete control of the Cuban services. To Havana they dispatched one of their best men, Col Vadim Kochergin, while a number of Cuban officers went to the USSR for instruction in the techniques of urban terrorism.

In Cuba, writes Claire Sterling in her book "The Terror Network", the Soviets trained most of the instructors, who would later teach the complicated art of armed overthrow in Libya, Lebanon, Yemen, etc. In practice, Fidel Castro's realm became a university to train not terrorist combatants but the movement's leaders and ideologists. It is now an old story that Cuba watched over (and for a long time hosted) the prototerrorist Giangiacomo Feltrinelli. We know, too, what terrorist nucleus gathered around that guerrilla publisher. The best of the trainees were sent by Cuba to other countries, particularly Libya and South Yemen, the latter a Russian colony so completely dominated by the Kremlin that a leaf may not be moved without Moscow's approval.

Libya

At the outset of the effort to destabilize the Mediterranean basin, Muammar Qadhafi thought it would be more productive to support rightist terrorism, therefore he chose to ally himself with the "black" fascist National Avantgarde and the infamous neofascist Claudio Mutti. But in time he saw that the leftist groups were more serious and better organized, therefore could better serve his purpose. The training camps in the Libyan desert began to fill up with young, fiercely procommunist youths, especially Italian and Spanish, but also German and Irish, supervised by two Palestinians, Ahmed Jibril and Naif Hawatmeth, loyal to the KGB and flanked by Cuban instructors.

Both the camps and those in them were recently spotted, photographed, and described by Algerian caravan leaders in a report to their government. It was with this report that the Algerian government chiefs put Pertini abreast of the facts. The camps most frequented by Italians are Ras Hilal, Ain el Beida, and Ain Zara, with the most populated at Bir al Ghanem. By last summer their number had grown to 12.

South Yemen

South Yemen stands at the edge of the world under the blazing sun, a barren country without resources. In 10 years it has developed only two industries: friendship with the Soviet Union and a single trade, furnishing materiel and the frameworks for European terrorism. Its better known training camps are Al Shaydah, Zingibar and Tawai, host to Basque separatists, who fell into the hands of the Spanish police last July. Under interrogation, the Basques told of coming to know young Germans and Italians during their training stints. When Aldo Moro was kidnapped, the late politician's son Giovanni asked for a visa to South Yemen, undoubtedly because he hoped to make contact with persons he thought could bring influence to bear on his father's captors.

PLO

If Yemen is a protectorate of the USSR, the PLO could be considered to have the same position, more or less. The CIA calls it "Moscow's adopted son". This was admitted by the Palestinians themselves through their UN observer, Zehdi Labib Terzi, who, in 1979, made it known with sovereign serenity that, "It is no secret that our boys go to the USSR for training, or that we receive automatic arms, explosives, and supplies [from there]." One PLO officer out of 10 has been trained in the USSR.

As a national liberation movement, the PLO is officially supported by the USSR--but not only by the USSR. To what use does it put the arms it receives? According to Patrizio Peci's testimony, except for a few machine guns lifted from the police and a few pistols stolen from armories, most of the Red Brigades' weapons came from the PLO. The elusive Red Brigadier chief, Mario Moretti, traveled 33 days on a sailing vessel to Lebanon to collect a shipment of arms, which he unloaded in the Chioggia area. For the enlightenment of anyone who might still doubt the affiliation between Italian and Palestinian terrorism, this information, which leaked out after the Ortona episode, should convince them: Daniele Pifano, head of the Rome autonomists, and Giorgio Baumgartner, Alto Adige physician who had spent considerable time in a Lebanese camp, were intercepted while transporting two Strela class ground-to-air missiles. During their trial, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine sent an official letter, written on its letterhead, to declare solemnly that the missiles were the property of that organization, to which the two couriers were lending a hand. What more proof is needed? The close relationship between the Italian terrorists and the PLO leaders, the tough George Habbash for one, was already noted, writes Sterling, in SISMI report 050714 and the facts already included in the parliamentary documentation on the Moro case. The reports state that Bassam Abu Sharif, second in command of the Popular Front, headed the committee to maintain contacts with the Red Brigades. It was Sharif who publicly declared that his PLO fringe trained numerous Italians in the Rauf, Mulakka, and Al Gheida camps.

Bulgaria

From the subsatellites the lines of communication lead us to the Soviet Union's acknowledged satellites, the most direct of them linking Palestine with Bulgaria. At the summit of Bulgaria's secret police stands Ahmed Jibril, who has labored most in the past years to create a network of contacts with both Arab and European terrorists. Jibril is a Palestinian permanently stationed in Sofia. In Bulgaria, Sterling tells in her text, he set up a clearing house for arms shipped from Sofia to Beirut, Marseilles, Milan, Turin, Bologna, Perugia and Ankara. Jibril even set up a workshop in a Sofia suburb to disassemble and rebuild cars imported from the West, transforming them into traveling storehouses for arms of every kind.

Sterling's book goes on to say that Jibril, a KGB functionary, commands dozens of agents in every country. A clandestine ambassador and cashier for the Russians and mastermind of the most daring criminal exploits, he is the USSR's most trusted political operator. In the summer of 1980 he pulled off an

outstanding coup by isolating the moderate Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and obliging him to pronounce in public his will to destroy the state of Israel. This occurred at a moment when a more accommodating stance would have enabled the Western nations meeting in Venice to press Israel successfully to put an end once and for all to the Palestine question and the problem of its refugees. It was a masterful stroke of destabilization.

Czechoslovakia

With their training camps and traffic in arms, in the recent past Cuba, South Yemen, Libya and Bulgaria have attracted the attention of the West. But the primogeniture in planned destabilization belongs beyond all doubt to Czechoslovakia. According to Jan Sejna, military adviser to the Czech communist party's Central Committee, who fled to the West with many hundredweights of documents, in 1964 the USSR decided to multiply by 10 its expenditures for politico-military activities abroad. These actions had, of course, to be preordained and supplied, but primarily camouflaged. One training camp for beginners was established at Karlovy Vary and another for highly specialized trainees in the forest of Doubov, both under the supervision of the Czech military secret service (GRU).

In the archives Sejna took with him on his flight, there is a note in his handwriting naming Italians trained in Czechoslovakia between 1964 and 1968. Sterling tells who they are in her book: Fabrizio Peli, Francesco Troiano, Budio Bianchi, Luciano Terrari, Ferruccio Gambino, Roberto Spazzali, Cesare Capellino and Franceschini.

But Czechoslovakia's bonds with the Italian terrorists did not end 12 years ago. Recently, Minister of the Interior Virginio Rognoni spoke of money arriving from Prague via the Skoda motor car works to finance Autonomy.

East Germany

Wadija Haddard, named as Carlos' collaborator in the organization responsible for the most spectacular deeds committed by the terrorists, took refuge in East Germany, where he was cured in a hospital.

East Germany granted Ulrike Meinhof, founder of the German RAF, \$400,000 to finance her review.

In his confessions to Deputy Prosecutor Ciampani, Carlo Fioroni told of a trip he made to Basel with Zamboni to meet with other Autonomy groups, particularly the German Proletarian Front of Hamburg. "Early in the summer of 1973," he said, "Zamboni and I left Milan for Basel to see Galli, Bellini, Gerard De La Loy and a German who was almost certainly from the Hamburg Proletarian Front. In one of our conversations in Milan, Zamboni spoke to me of his acquaintance with Baader, and I scolded him for being what I thought very unschooled in politics. He also spoke to me about the RAF's affiliations with East German agents and the logistical help given the RAF in that country.

"According to Zamboni, this affiliation should have meant the end of RAF in view of the political rapprochement between the two German states. I must say that Zamboni was fully involved with the organization, primarily because he wanted to make international contacts, mainly in Germany; he spoke German perfectly, and he had innumerable acquaintances there. As for the purchase of Scorpions, it was Zamboni himself who, knowing that the organization needed arms, made it known through Monferdin that there were a lot of Scorpions in Austria, which, according to the intermediary, were easy to acquire."

France

It is difficult to see how our cousin beyond the Alps is involved with Italian terrorism. Nevertheless, the fact remains that France has become--and not since yesterday or today--the privileged country to which fascist bombardiers, Red Brigadiers and Autonomists tarred by terrorism go calmly and peacefully for refuge. Sooner or later they will be captured, it is true, but not with the promptitude called for by circumstances. In any case, France also has its first-rate training camp in the Pyrenees, attended by Basque and Italian guerrillas. It became notorious recently after the nth repentance of a Red Brigadier who spent time there.

All this must indeed be known to the Italian government, which is likewise aware of other similar facts. Will it speak out in the debate in Parliament? Not likely because that would create serious complications in an area where, for some time now, the rule has been to negotiate under the table, without clamorous scandals following the identification and capture of spies and saboteurs. Everything is done in silence, with hasty expulsions but without official reactions.

Yet this great mass of evidence collected from all the cardinal points is now beginning to suffice toward clothing the specter, consisting of those who are protecting the armed parties, in recognizable dress.

Evidence of International Contacts

Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 8 Feb 81 pp 12-13

[Article by Maurizio De Luca: "What the Magistrates Know"]

[Text] Rome--What has the magistracy learned thus far about the contacts between our Italian terrorists and the terrorist focuses abroad? What proofs, evidences and traces of international connections have been culled from the thousands upon thousands of pages explaining numerous probes into terrorism? Some things, yes--and apart from the Czech visas on Giangiacomo Feltrinelli's passport, the information on the Karlov Vary training camps, the Soviet missiles transported by Daniele Pifano, Autonomy chief in Rome, George Habbash's Palestine Popular Liberation Front, Red Brigades Chief Mario Moretti's trip to Lebanon (summer of 1979) for supplies of armaments, the money advanced by Skoda, the Czech motor works, to Autonomy circles, the discovery of arms imported from the East (and also from the West) stored in the terrorist groups' arsenals, and everything else referred to in the opening article of this ESPRESSO issue. Then, too, there are other well

detailed facts, for example the Italians' ties with Libya, with Cuba and with various terrorist groups in Europe, which many repentant terrorists in prison have revealed. Let us see what they have said.

Libya

The most exact accusations to incriminate a Libyan diplomat stationed in Rome were made by Enrico Paghera, a convict charged with participating in Revolutionary Action, a band of self-styled communist anarchists. His account, crammed with hitherto unknown, sensational information, begins with his relations in prison with one of the most mysterious and ambiguous figures to come to light from the magma of terrorism: an American, Ronald Stark, in disfavor with the CIA, a close friend of Libyans and Palestinians, and drug trafficker, who vanished into the void after he was abruptly released from jail. Paghera and Stark met in 1977 in their Bologna prison.

"Stark," Paghera told the judges, "gave me the Rome telephone number of someone who would put me in touch with an officer of the Libyan embassy, a man with whom Stark said he had talked in the Bologna prison. The contact I was to make with this person concerned a project Stark had discussed with me; obviously, this Libyan was in on it. The project was to organize a group on the international scale, which would include members of George Habbash's Palestine gang, those who belonged to '2 June' (an East German terrorist band--editor's note) and Italians."

In February 1978, Paghera, having managed to obtain a temporary pass to freedom from the judges, left the jail. "To make that telephone call and the contact," he testified, "I went to Rome, arriving there on 16 February 1978, the day after Judge Palma was murdered. The telephone number was that of a school, I don't remember whether it was a kindergarten or elementary; I found this out by calling information. Stark had told me to phone between 8 and 10 in the evening. I tried to reach him in the afternoon, but no one answered. I was curious, that's why I checked on the owner of that number. At 0830 I tried again. This time the man Ronald wanted me to meet answered himself. I told him that Ronald had given me the number and that I was calling in his name. The man, who spoke Italian, told me not to say anything more on the line; we would meet in person at 10 o'clock at the Pyramids underground station. I was to wait inside the station and he would come to me, so I gathered that Stark had given him a description of me. I went to the station and, after a short wait, this man approached me. He was 30 or 35 years old, rather short, dark hair, normal figure, about 1.68 meters tall. He had a wide mustache pointed at the tips, and curly black hair in a normal cut. He asked if I were Ronald's friend. When I said I was, he replied that it would be better to go somewhere else. We got into his car, an American model, metallic brown, two doors, long, with a canvas top. It had a Rome license. We toured around for half an hour, then went to a beer place in Trastevere. He carried a pistol in a holster under his arm."

In the bar, Paghera went on, the conversation turned to the Lebanese training camps. "I showed him a plan Stark had given me. On it was written in his own hand 'Director M. Saudi, National Bank of Tripoli, Libya'. When he gave me the plan, Stark had told me that I should go to Taibe, which he said was a small

village in Lebanon; but first I must go to see M. Saudi in Tripoli, Libya. Then I would be sent to a training camp near Taibe."

Who, asked the judges, was this Saudi? A Libyan, certainly, with a name like that, and a banker who arranged for Libya's infiltration into the Fiat activists. He had an office in Rome. Were there two Saudis or only one? "About Saudi," Paghera explained, "Stark told me that he had already financed terrorist actions, or rather organizations dedicated to terrorism--or even better, Palestinian organizations of the PLO type--therefore he would probably be interested in backing the proposed international organization he, Stark, was stalking about."

But why did he tell his interlocutor about such things in the beer garden? "He," Paghera answered, "could give me money and the documents I needed to go to Lebanon--a passport and papers designating me as a journalist. I told him that, and he gave me an appointment for the afternoon of the next day in front of a train station--not Termini but another station near a cemetery (the Tiburtina station--editor's note). In Rome I found help, so I stayed there."

Paghera's testimony ended here, as did, in practice, the investigations. The magistracy transmitted his information to the criminal investigation section of the police and, most certainly, to the secret services. But the whole matter was suspended when it ran up against an incredible block. Before his statements could be verified, the investigators had to identify the Libyan diplomat; but among those who visited Stark in jail, he left only tenuous traces; consequently he had to be recognized from a photo. It was impossible, however, to show Paghera photos of Libyan diplomats accredited to Rome because none were officially in circulation. From unseen places, carabinieri and secret service agents tried to photograph those who frequented the Tripoli embassy, but without spotting their man. Thus, the case was stopped cold.

Cuba

In the transcript of the trial against the Revolutionary Action terrorists, another trail leads to Cuba. Among those jailed were a Chilean exile, Juan Teofilo Soto Paillacar who, leaving Chile at the time of Pinochet's coup, spent some time in Cuba before coming to Europe. An expert in explosives (he wrote a manual on the subject, sequestered by the police), he had been the focus of terrorist investigations in Sweden. In Italy he joined Revolutionary Action. On 8 April 1979 he was arrested in Rome, carrying in his pocket a Smith Wesson calibre 44 Magnum, and 33 bullets. Of his stay in Cuba he refuses to divulge anything.

Training Camps

One of the busiest summer training camps for terrorists coming from half of Europe was established in August 1978 in Provence. Among the Italians on hand were Corrado Alunni and Maurice Bignami, representing the Communist Combatant Formations, and Sergio Segio, of Prima Linea. Their colleagues included exponents of the Basque ETA and French Napap. According to Marco Donat Cattin's account to the repentant Roberto Sandalo, "The ETA men showed great efficiency

and won everyone's appreciation. They gave away kilos of explosives and had hundreds of shots fired from Sten guns."

Claire Sterling Interviewed

Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 8 Feb 81 p 14

[Interview with Claire Sterling: "But Why Talk About it Only Now?"]

[Text] Her investigation lasted 3 years, during which Claire Sterling scoured all Europe to find out which countries backed and protected the most dangerous terrorists, mainly the Red Brigades. The result of her investigation is now a book, "The Terror Network". Here we discuss the subject with the author.

Question: You know that, speaking of terrorist centers abroad, Sandro Pertini provoked a formal protest from the Soviet Union. How do you judge the president's initiative?

Sterling: Pertini's initiative is the first step toward confronting the reality of terrorism. I don't say that we must declare war on the Soviet Union, but if we have the survival of democracy and freedom at heart, we cannot avoid asking the Soviet leaders why they have been encouraging and protecting terrorists for so many years. It is not by any mere chance that over the last decade the worst dictatorships have been left completely in peace by the so-called revolutionary movement while the fury of terrorism has been falling on all the democracies that still exist. More than half the terrorists' attacks have been aimed against the industrialized democracies located along the strategic band extending from the Black Sea to the Atlantic--Turkey, Italy, Spain, Great Britain and Germany.

Question: Before Pertini, why didn't the statesmen of all the major countries under terrorist attack face up to the problem of foreign terrorist centers? Was it because a series of isolated instances are not enough to prove that a central brain exists?

Sterling: In my book "The Terror Network" there is nothing that any secret service worthy of the name hasn't known for many years. Before 1979 perhaps you could doubt the major responsibility of the USSR, but since then, there isn't a secret service that doesn't know about the USSR's guilt.

Question: What happened in 1975 to change the prospect of a confrontation with terrorism so radically?

Sterling: In 1975 there were at least four absolutely sensational revelations. 1. The shootout in Paris between Carlos and the French police led to the discovery of the Palestinian terrorists' international directorate. 2. A number of KGB messages intercepted by the Israelis when they were occupying part of the Lebanese coast near Beirut gave final proof of Carlos' dependence on the KGB agent, Antonio Dages Bouvier. 3. In a packet of documents seized by the Belgian police, for the first time they discovered that in Vienna there was a

KGB central, committed to stimulate terrorist formations in Italy, Germany, Belgium and Holland. 4. The discovery of the Tucuman plan, by which the joint secret services of Cuba and the USSR intended to transfer to Europe the committee for revolutionary coordination, together with all the Argentinian, Uruguayan, Chilean and Bolivian agents and terrorists. This revealed a subversive conspiracy so vast that only a power like the USSR could have conceived it and begun, at least, to realize it.

After these revelations, no politician could ignore the facts, but all of them preferred to keep the public in the dark. Moreover, before Pertini spoke up, all the politicians in the European countries not only buried every report on the expulsion of diplomats who were really secret service agents collaborating with the terrorists, but also actually deceived the public. On this subject I recall that when I asked an interior ministry specialist in terrorism why West Germany never protested against the protection Russia was giving the RAF terrorists in Yemen, he replied that everything had changed and Yemen was no longer a refuge for them. And yet, at that very moment, Yemen was host to five of the most wanted West German terrorists, who shortly after went to Paris, where they were arrested before they could do any more damage.

Question: In your view, why have the politicians been so reluctant to talk about the reality of terrorism?

Sterling: Some of them were afraid of compromising the detente movement, while others had Ostpolitik at heart. Still others did not want to denounce the Palestinians because they feared the reactions of Qadhafi and other top Arabs. But still more than the fear of offending the Russians, Qadhafi and other Arab leaders, they were much more worried about leftist public opinion; people didn't want to hear any talk about bonds between the new left and terrorism or, much less, between terrorism and the USSR.

Before the politicians could begin to see these terrorist links in a realistic light, the repentant terrorists' confessions were absolutely essential--and, previously, the letter in which Aldo Moro, during his sequestration, spoke with pride of the accord he had concluded with the Palestinians via Colonel Giovannone. It is hard to image a more immoral agreement, which left the Palestinians free to do whatever they liked in Italy with the guarantee that, should they be caught in flagrante, they would get off scot-free without a trial. To avoid any trouble with Qadhafi, in 1977 Moro rejected a Ministry of the Interior report which charged the Libyan terrorists with the massacre at Fiumicino Airport, when 31 innocent passengers were killed. And as if that weren't enough, Moro provided an escort in a military plane to Tripoli for three terrorists discovered in Ostia with two Sam 7 missiles, intended to bring down an El Al plane. So much for Italian statesmen. In the other nations, however, the attitude of government leaders has been substantially the same. With his customary courage, Pertini let it be understood that from now on, there will no longer be a ban on asking the Russians why they continue to run the world's biggest university of guerrilla warfare in Yemen, or why some USSR satellites, like Cuba and Czechoslovakia, are still prepared to welcome terrorists fleeing from justice.

ARAFAT DENIES PLO LINKS WITH TERRORISTS

Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 22 Feb 81 pp 25-26

[Article by Maurizio De Luca, "The Red Brigades? Don't Know Them, Can't Tell You, However"]

[Text] The Roman judge went to Beirut to interrogate the Palestine leader on the links between the PLO and the Red Brigades. Arafat denied, Sica insisted

Beirut--For the first time in the presence of an Italian magistrate, Yasser Arafat, PLO leader, officially denied any links with the Italian terrorists. His meeting with Judge Domenico Sica, deputy prosecutor of the republic investigating international ties maintained by the Red Brigades and Prima Linea, took place on 13 February near Beirut, in a secret rendezvous ringed by Palestinian guards. After sojourning in Beirut for almost a week, Judge Sica was met at his Hotel Summerland, on the city's sea front, and escorted to the hideout by a dozen fedaheen armed with Kalachnikovs, the deadly machine gun produced by the Soviets. In the talk Arafat explicitly denounced Italian terrorism and disclaimed any contact, past or future, with the Red Brigades or any other armed bands, from Prima Linea to Revolutionary Action. His declarations, however, were not limited to denials; some of his confessions did not concern Italy. Arafat, in fact, traced a clear distinction between the European groups, basing the difference on their diverse goals. Some are fighting for the freedom of their countries (an implicit reference to the Basque ETA and Northern Ireland's IRA), others for different motives. The Palestinians, determined to reconquer their homeland, feel fraternally allied with those groups aspiring to the same goal in a common purpose, and lend them direct aid, mainly by taking them into their training camps. They have never extended such brotherly affection and help to the Italian terrorists who, Arafat pointed out, have no need to liberate their country. All the same, Arafat did not rule out the possibility--as did the PLO's Rome representative in a statement released at the time of the Beirut talk--that between 1968 and 1970 a few Italians might have joined with other Europeans in the Palestinian camps. Indeed, in those years, the PLO camps were open to European volunteers eager to fight against Israel. In any event, said Arafat, those few Italians who took up arms on the side of the fedaheen were not terrorists at that time, or at least did not strike the Palestinians as such, those who participated in clandestine armed organizations which, in fact, were still to come into existence. After 1970 the European volunteers ceased to arrive, and the international camps were shut down.

If any trainee subsequently turned into a terrorist in Italy, the PLO can only condemn him on political grounds and reject all responsibility for him.

What about the supplies of weapons which Patrizio Peci said the PLO had given the Red Brigades--the Kalachnikovs which Moretti allegedly went to Lebanon in the summer of 1978 to collect and then distribute in Italy? All lies, said Arafat; the PLO had nothing to do with it. "Moreover," he repeated several times, "how could we have armed the men who, only a few months before, had assassinated Aldo Moro, a friend of ours, a politician who showed that he understood our problems? That would have been suicide for us. We are not that stupid politically." All well and good, but the weapons were found in Italy exactly where Peci said they were hidden, and a store of Kalachnikovs were seized. And other repentant terrorists from other units, like Roberto Sandalo and Michele Viscardi, former Prima Linea members, reported that they had heard talk of trips to Lebanon and Palestinian aid. "Provocations", said the PLO. Then Arafat observed, "Beirut is an open market for armaments. A Kalachnikov is also a weapon, although a little outdated now; you can find it here for \$60 or less. Certainly we do not sell them. We are hungry for guns and munitions. Why would we give them to Italians, who then use them to kill other Italians? It doesn't make sense."

One episode, however, the PLO could not disclaim, the only one for which Sica had incontestable proof. This referred to the Sam 7 missiles which Daniele Pifano was transporting near Ortona in November 1979. It is true, the Palestinians admitted, that those missiles belonged to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, George Habbash's extremist group, a division of the PLO. It was an ugly accident. But let this be clear: those missiles were not destined for any Italian groups; coming from West Germany, they were perhaps meant to go to fedaheen fighting in the territories occupied by the Israelis, therefore they were only in transit in Italy. Furthermore, only Palestinians should have been involved in that shipment. It was by mere chance (apparently a fedaheen's illness) that the men of the Front asked for help from the Italians. An unfortunate incident, say the members of PLO, which will not happen again. Italy, indeed Europe in general, is no longer a battlefield for the PLO. From now on, there will be no more arms in transit; of this the Italian authorities, beginning with the magistracy, can be sure. On Arafat's word.

Then There Are the Habbash Boys

Things did not go smoothly at the meeting between Sica and Arafat, nor did the extremely difficult preparations, begun in Italy on the initiative of the Roman magistracy, the judges assure us. Before departing for Beirut, Sica had a long conversation with Nemr Hammad, PLO representative in Rome. Once in Lebanon, he was obliged to cool his heels while Arafat tergiversated, complaining of his health and pains in his neck. Sica used his free time to probe into the disappearance of the Imam Moussa Sadr, spiritual leader of 10 million Shiites, a powerful Lebanese community. In Beirut he conferred with the sect's supreme council, which accused Qadhdhafi of responsibility for the Imam's disappearance, which occurred when he was about to leave Tripoli for Rome. (Qadhdhafi vociferously denied the charge.)

Sica met with other PLO authorities, including Makmoud Labadi, chief of the press service, and the influential Abu Iyyad, PLO second-in-command after Arafat, and held a series of almost interminable consultations with other intermediaries. All wanted to know exactly what the Italian judge was looking for in Beirut, which Sica would only discuss with Arafat, hence the Palestinians' hesitations in their talks with him. This is understandable in view of the gap that apparently separates Arafat and his collaborators from the Habbash front in their attitudes toward the Red Brigades. "They're fascists, no doubt about it, different from the Baader-Meinhof gang, which had something of Naziism in it", said Abu Iyyad, sitting in his small reception room, protected by steel doors and Palestinian guards clutching pistols. "No," he added, "we are not supporting the Red Brigades. Let me make it clear that it wouldn't be in our interests. To the contrary, if we can help the Italian authorities, we'll do it. Your government knows what we did to mediate between Italy and the Armenians to avoid clashes on your territory." What did you do, Mr Iyyad? "We can't talk about these things in detail. But as I say, your government knows all about it. We have nothing to do with Italian terrorism, you can be sure. That's a campaign orchestrated by the CIA and Israel."

Habbash's Popular Front headquarters is a 15-minute drive from PLO headquarters. Makmoud Sahari, a functionary of the organization's information service, said as he sipped coffee laced with essence of rose petals, "We do not call the members of your armed organizations terrorists. In our opinion, they are given to political violence, which is something else. Rest assured that we are not assisting the Red Brigades; our objective is war against Israel, therefore anyone who doesn't have the masses behind him does not interest us. But be advised that our organization is open to anyone willing to understand and help us." None of this, however, did Arafat tell the Italian magistrate.

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MURDERS OF MEMBERS BY NEO-NAZI GROUP WORRIES ARMY**Home Guard Seen Infiltrated**

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 26 Feb 81 p 10

[Article by Per Lunden]

[Text] Neo-Nazi activities are still being exposed around the country. In the wake of the Hadeland murders, local and district newspapers uncover neo-Nazi tendencies among young people.

There are several groups in Oslo, and a relatively large group frequents the western part of Oslo and meets in a house at Holmenkollåsen, ULLERN AVIS--AKERSPOSTEN states. Also in Troms, Oppland, Hedemark, Rogaland, Vestfold and Møre there have been clear proofs of extended activities on the part of neo-Nazis.

The network of the neo-Nazi organization is difficult to map out, many of the groups cannot be described as anything other than "boys' clubs," often with a keen interest in weapons and a romantic attitude toward Nazism.

ULLERN AVIS--AKERSPOSTEN has been able to establish with great certainty that approximately 20 neo-Nazis have a meeting place at Holmenkollåsen. There have also been claims that the group has access to weapons. It is a Nazi from World War II who owns the house, and the members of the group are between 20 and 35 years old, the majority of them belonging to the younger age group. At some of the meetings, the members will put on Nazi armbands, while the owner of the house often wears his full Nazi uniform. The members of the group have largely been recruited from the area around Majorstua.

Home Guard Groups Infiltrated

At Gjøvik and at Toten, the youth groups of the home guard have been infiltrated by young people with Nazi sympathies, SAMHOLD VELGEREN at Gjøvik writes. Also the youth group at Gjøvik and the Toten defense league have had young people with neo-Nazi attitudes. Some young people at Toten formed their own group some time ago where they concentrate on weapons training,

registration of persons belonging to the left in politics and they have carried on deliberate sabotage of arrangements organized by political organizations belonging to the left.

In Rogaland it has also appeared that young Nazis have been gathering in the Youth Home Guard. The leader of the Youth Home Guard at Haugesund, Rolf S. Wenneck, states that the admission requirements for the Youth Home Guard are not stringent enough. Neo-Nazism has been gaining some ground in Haugesund, and neo-Nazi propaganda pamphlets are regularly distributed in the town.

"Heil Hitler"

The Nazi sympathies of young people have also manifested themselves in public demonstrations of their attitudes in childish and naive ways. In Ålesund, several young people have been using the Nazi greeting and have been singing the German national anthem at public meetings. In Tromsø, there has been a big turnover in Nazi symbols and badges. Similar material has also been distributed in several other places of the country. Racial posters also keep emerging during the night.

Policeman: Not Organized Group

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 26 Feb 81 p 10

[Text] The investigations into the double murder at Hadeland and the arms thefts have been given the highest priority, but the police finds that there is reason to dedramatize the situation against the background of what has been said and written in the mass media during the last few days.

Per Carlson, police superintendent of the Oslo Police, states that, against the background of the information received by the police so far, there is no basis for claiming that any group of substantial size is involved.

It is more likely to be a question of a small gang of young boys with a special interest in dynamite and firearms, an interest which had had such tragic consequences, says Carlson.

According to Per Carlson, police superintendent, the material seized does not confirm statements to the effect that list of people to be liquidated were found.

However, the investigations into the case are being continued with unabated efforts in several areas.

People from the Fredrikstad police station and the sheriff's office at Onøy last Wednesday afternoon searched a cottage in the district owned by the family of John Charles Hoff, who has been charged with the murders.

The chief of police in Fredrikstad, Håkon Strømseter, tells the NORWEGIAN NEWS AGENCY that nothing of interest to the murder and arms case was found in the search.

One of the theories of the police, as far as motive is concerned, is that Fridtjof Nome and Fred Karlsen, who had assisted in the arms theft, had threatened to tell the police what they knew about the arms stockpile and the action group at Malmøya.

As far as the NORWEGIAN NEWS AGENCY has learned, the police do not exclude the possibility that financial motives may have been involved. The two men who were killed are said to have demanded vast sums of money from those who have now been charged in the case. Amounts of approximately 40,000 kroner have been mentioned.

There are several indications that the three men who are now in custody charged with deliberate murder have given contradictory evidence. For the office of Olav Hestenes, Supreme Court attorney, who represented all three men at their committal, has stated that Olav Hestenes will be able to represent only one of the defendants, viz. John Charles Hoff.

UN Soldier Sent Home

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 27 Feb 81 p 9

[Article by Guri Hjeltne and Tor Risberg]

[Text] A sergeant of the Norwegian UN battalion in Lebanon was last Wednesday returned to Norway, and, last Thursday, he and his 22-year-old girlfriend were committed for trial. The couple have been charged with receiving stolen dynamite and arms.

In the apartment occupied by the couple in Oslo, logs containing dynamite and three guns have been seized.

The police state that the two people are not being connected directly with the murders last weekend. The weapons seized do not stem from the arms thefts at Nesodden.

The soldier was sent home from Lebanon in response to urgent requests from the police. He is regarded as a prominent member of the group headed by Espen Lund, the 19-year-old principal behind the Nesodden thefts and the murders of Fridtjof Nome and Fred Karlsen.

The police are very reluctant to make statements in connection with the return of the UN soldier. Undoubtedly, the young man's connections and associations with the Bekkelaget gang are so important that the police see reason to undertake extensive investigations.

The couple are acquaintances of Johnny Olsen, one of those charged with murder in the Hadeland case.

The police decided to search the apartment occupied by the couple a few days ago when it became clear that Olsen had visited the apartment on several occasions.

On the basis of instructions given by Johnny Olsen, the police, moreover, last Thursday, seized handgrenades and other objects in another apartment in Oslo. Among the weapons seized was a Schmeisser of the same type as the one used in the Hadeland murders. The handgrenades may originate in some other theft.

Nazi Groups Abroad Contacted

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 27 Feb 81 p 9

[Text] There has now been a breakthrough in the investigations into the double murder at Hadeland as far as the efforts at finding connections with other groups with Nazi sympathies in other places of the country are concerned. As far as ARBEIDERBLADET has learned, the security police have also been in contact with colleagues in other places in Europe in order to confirm, if possible, the validity of certain clues which connect those charged in the murder case with Central European right-wing extremist groups.

The investigators state that they have found certain connections between persons belonging to the circle around those accused in the murder case and right-wing extremist in other parts of the country. With a view to the further investigations, the police are extremely reluctant to reveal what they have found out so far. For the time being, it is uncertain whether it may become necessary to undertake further arrests.

Minister of Justice Bjørn Skau was yesterday informed of the most recent developments by Attorney General Magnar Flornes and Security Police chief Gunnar Haarstad. Permanent Undersecretary Leif Eldring was also present at the meeting. The Ministry of Justice has requested to be kept constantly informed of any new factors in the case uncovered in the course of the investigation.

During the last few days there have been speculations as to the actual content of the lists of left-wing people which are reported to have been found on Malmøya. As far as ARBEIDERBLADET has learned, the lists contain material collected from open sources, i.e. newspaper articles, magazines, etc., but they are so comprehensive and detailed that the investigators have found it justified to look into the matter. That they were intended as actual "death lists" is, however, more questionable.

In addition to the return of the UN soldier, the security police has also contacted colleagues in other parts of Europe, to find out exactly what the relationship has been between right-wing extremists in Norway, and more particularly the circle around those charged with the murders, and right-wing extremist groups in other countries. There are several theories as to what the police is after in this connection.

One theory is that people belonging to the Norwegian Nazi group are behind other arms thefts, and that there have been "arms exports" from Norway.

Another theory is that those charged in the murder case were in direct contact with corresponding groups abroad prior to the arms theft at Nesodden.

After the most recent developments in the investigation, it has been established with absolute certainty that the police now regard the double murder case as a case which extends beyond a merely criminal case.

MP Comments

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 27 Feb 81 p 9

[Text] Jan P. Syse, chairman of the Storting Judicial Committee, has participated in a discussion which could become both important and interesting in the Thursday "Current Events" broadcast.

"Are Nazi attitudes a danger today?" the program leader asked.

"Yes, there is a fertile soil," Jan P. Syse responded.

"However, neo-Nazis do not constitute a danger to the society in general. They constitute primarily a threat to individuals and to individual groups. They may spread terrorism and fear."

In the same connection, the chairman of the Judicial Committee said that far too many negative things are being said and written about our defense system and our home guard at present. "We have developed a broad and democratic defense system, developed in the struggle against Nazism. I agree with the police that we should not overdramatize the situation," Jan P. Syse said.

"But people have been hurt," said class struggle reporter Per Bangsund.

"Two people have been murdered. For more than a decade, right-wing extremists have deliberately been infiltrating the Youth Home Guard, and also the main organization."

"It is difficult to do anything before we see that something is happening," Jan P. Syse answered.

"Acts of violence have never been committed by leftist groups," said research fellow Bernt Hagtvet. "Some years ago, an intelligence officer in London stated that Mause Jørgensen and Finn Gustavsen were dubious individuals. Does the secret police follow what is happening," he asked.

Dangerous, Yes

"The right-wing extremist groups are dangerous," Arne Flateland, a former body-guard of Erik Blucher, pointed out. "These groups show a need for violence to compensate for their own feelings of inferiority."

"The ultra-conservative groups have good international contacts," Flateland said. "They correspond with and have personal contacts with the big and

strong reactionary movements," Flateland confirmed after seeing part of a film about Ku Klux Klan activities in the United States.

Party Ideology Discussed

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Feb 81 p 3

[Article by Ottar Jularud]

[Text] What kind of ideas do actually form the basis for Erik Blucher's National People's Party, which will be holding its national congress this weekend? What kind of visions do they have? The movement is at present busy formulating a manifesto. The periodical NASJONALISTEN thus currently brings a series of articles proclaimed to be "the first complete presentation of the ideological and practical policy basis of Norwegian nationalism."

The point of departure of the evaluations is that the Nordic countries are rapidly approaching a state of chaos. The series of articles has so far revealed three main causes: Racial integration, our "so-called democracy," and "international profiteers," especially the United States/capitalism, Marxism-Leninism, and Zionism (!) The National People's Party wants to introduce something new to counteract all the decline and disintegration. However, it seems as if the news value is greatest to those who are without a sense of history and to those who are afflicted with what in psychology is referred to as repressions.

The circles involved in the horrible executions outside Oslo last weekend and, consequently, also in large-scale thefts of weapons and ammunition, were apparently guided by Nazi sympathies. However, those involved as well as the leadership of the National People's Party did not lose any time in stating that they had had nothing to do with one another. The question whether or not this is true will, in no way, be discussed in this context.

Nevertheless, in view of the climate which seems to have developed among Norwegian extremists, one ought to keep a watchful eye on the ideas which manifest themselves within certain organizations of extremist groups. And it should at least be pointed out that the propaganda issued by the Nationalists, and the way in which their people have acted on several occasions may contribute to preparing the ground for acts of violence.

According to a recent issue of NASJONALISTEN, the members of the party--excuse me, the comrades-in-arms--will now be launching an ideological debate. The series of articles mentioned is to form the basis for the debate. By way of introduction, it is here stated that Doomsday is near, and that the task of nationalism is to lead a rootless and drifting people onto the road of truth.

Among the great villains are "the international profiteers." Their only goal is to achieve the greatest possible advantages in terms of money and

the resources of others for the purpose of governing the world according to their crafty plans. Big money and the United States stand centrally in this picture. And behind it all Zionism, or the American Jews, if you want. Their opponents, but, nevertheless, fellow profiteers, turn out to be the Marxist-Leninists. Both benefit by the class struggle--and they use it to destroy people and society. The Soviet Union is given an exceedingly modest part in this game. The system which is regarded as having outlived itself.

In the dream state of the Nationalists, they have adopted an "inviolable prohibition" against any Marxist-Leninist undermining of the society--and this undermining we find everywhere in today's society (!)

"Democracy" is another yoke put on the shoulders of the people. In the fantasy world of the Nationalists, we have no democracy. We suffer under a narrow party-egoistic tug-of-war. Therefore! Make way for a democracy which is (1) true, (2) authoritative, and (3) responsible. A trade assembly will be an important element when it comes to forming the true community of people. This must be a link in a government system which will safeguard the interests of the nation and not those of individual groups.

As it appears, they have here, almost word by word, adopted ideas on the corporate system launched by Quisling. In the following articles, cultural assemblies and national assemblies may be launched as great new ideas. You will see.

It should also be mentioned that "the right leader type" for all of it, still with the authoritative article on ideology as source, will have to be "filtered out" and cultivated as a picture of the flock of people to be led. That is actually what it says.

A third major cause of all discord and dissatisfaction and all the disputes in the world is the contact among the human races. If one is to believe the author of the article, we are faced with the problem of race priority. The European race has proved superior, whereas negroes are backward. By entering the territory of other big races, one breaks fundamental laws of nature. Chaos results.

And this is thus the ideological basis for the calls for Norway for the Norwegians (several worse slogans could readily be quoted), which does not either represent anything new in the history of ideas.

The Nationalists fan the smouldering fire of racism with all the lung capacity at their disposal. And they advance their simplistic explanations of phenomena such as civil disobedience and a not inappreciable feeling of political powerlessness--democracy is merely "so-called." That will not do! Away with the prevailing social/liberal seduction! Come to us! We represent the new times!

In this way, the Nationalists give support to the morally most impure attitudes, latent as well as existing. And in this way they may contribute to

paving the way for a repetition of dark aspects of Norwegian history. And of occurrences which are currently taking place in other countries.

Secret "Nazi Army" Uncovered

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 2 Mar 81 p 8

[Article by Mette Nergård]

[Text] According to reports which ARBEIDERBLADET has reason to believe to be correct, the investigations of the police into the Hadeland case have now been extended to include groups in several parts of the country.

The NORWEGIAN NEWS AGENCY has been informed that the police in Oslo is in the process of uncovering an extremist organization of a military nature in connection with the investigations into the double murder at Hadeland last weekend.

Last Saturday, two young men--21 and 18 years old--were taken into custody for 4 weeks. They have both been charged with having formed or participated in an organization of a military nature.

The 21-year-old man who has been arrested is a private first-class in the Armed Forces and was about to be transferred for service in the UN battalion in Lebanon when he was arrested prior to the weekend. The 18-year-old boy is a student. Both are from Oslo.

Per Carlsen, police superintendent of the Oslo police, who is in charge of the investigation, tells the NORWEGIAN NEWS AGENCY that this is the first time that the legal provisions of the criminal code which prohibit the formation of organizations of a military nature, are being applied in Norway.

The tension in connection with the exposure of possible Nazi groups was intensified over the weekend after a group of young people at a vocational school in Oslo was reported to the police for having made and sold highly dangerous firearms. Several of the young people are said to be acquaintances of John Charles Hoff, one of the men charged in the Hadeland murder case. Several of the vocational school students are members of the Youth Home Guard.

The students, who are approximately 17 years old, have since last fall been making weapons at the school without the school leaders having known about it.

Odd M. Nymoen, assistant chief officer at Hønefoss, tells RINGERIKES BLAD that the police do not exclude the possibility that an arms theft from a Home Guard storage facility at Ringerike may be connected with the theft from a Home Guard depot at Nesodden.

"I find that the Home Guard seems to be far too lenient in its checks considering that several arms thefts from Home Guard storage facilities

have been experienced in the course of a short time," Undersecretary Tor Erik Johansen of the Ministry of Justice tells ARBEIDERBLADET. "It is shocking that young people's romantic attitude toward weapons will result in things like the Hadeland murders," Johansen says, adding that an exposure of Nazi activity on a national basis would belong under the prosecuting authorities and the Norwegian Armed Forces.

"For the time being, it will not be necessary for the political authorities to become involved in this case," Undersecretary Tor Erik Johansen says.

Conservative Newspaper Comments

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Mar 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] A couple of years ago, the Norwegian Front was ostentatiously declared to have been dissolved. The national leader Erik Blucher and his closest comrades-in-arms felt a need to dissociate themselves from the Kyvik case. Irresponsible elements had gained access to the ranks, it was stated. They would now clean up. The front was carried on under the name of the National People's Party. We do not disregard the possibility that the need for "reorganization" may come up anew.

To be sure, the arms gangs which are at present being exposed do not belong to Blucher's "People's Party." So far, it is not known what other connection may exist or may have existed. However, there is no doubt that it is here a question of a spiritual affinity, the existence of which the National People's Party will find it difficult to deny.

Many of the confused ideas one encounters among the young people and arms maniacs concerned are of the same origin as the vulgar propaganda from the duplicators of the National People's Party. The publications from there and the atmosphere in those circles have, undoubtedly, been calculated to develop a willingness to fight--in the most literal sense of the word--among young people susceptible to influence.

Norway is to be saved from various imminent dangers by the means that would be required. In conformity with some kind of natural law, the hatred is directed against extremists belonging to the opposite wing. The red vermin must be exterminated! Norwegian offshoots of Zionism must be crushed! Away with other races!

In the course of a recent attempt at holding a press conference, Erik Blucher stated that the fight against immigration is the foremost task of the movement. Other elements within the leadership of the movement used somewhat less urbane forms of expression. In a resolution from the central committee adopted earlier in the year, it says that the National People's Party intends to resort to any necessary means to save our people and our country from the fate of becoming colonized by Africans and Asians. It does indeed appear as if other morally impure groups within the same wing are also ready to use every means available to stress their positions.

The racism and the discriminatory attitudes for which they agitate are based on high-flown theories of the white man's superiority. This is not an unknown phenomenon, seen from the point of view of history. The fact that the agitation has a stimulating effect on people who are arms maniacs and who suffer from behavior disorders is, of course, a serious matter. However, it is also a serious matter that we here encounter the darker and more sinister aspects of the Norwegian national mind on its home ground. They are contributing actively to preparing the ground for an agitation against foreign workers. Our worst prejudices are being fertilized and watered.

The question is asked whether some of the statements and materials from the Norwegian People's Party should not be of greater interest to the prosecuting authorities than seems to be the case. On the other hand, we believe that it would not be a very fortunate solution to adopt a general prohibition of, for example, fascist organizations, as is now being strongly recommended in certain quarters. To say the least, this would give rise to complicated questions of definition, and a sentence would probably only result in new groups starting operating "under-ground." Democracy will be best off distinguishing between crimes and political opinions.

Armed Forces Chief Comments

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 3 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Petter Nome]

[Text] The Armed Forces will start using new routine methods to exclude extremists from the Armed Forces. Questionnaires used in connection with the admission and clearance of personnel will have to be improved. Through talks with psychologists, they will endeavor to find out if the prospective troops have dubious motives for entering the Armed Forces.

The above information was given by Armed Forces Chief, General Sverre Hamre, to ARBEIDERBLADET.

"The Work Environment Act and a general tendency to consider political views as irrelevant have created uncertainty as to the requirements which we should make," says the defense chief.

Since the registration of left-wing viewpoints became unacceptable, right-wing extremists have also been given a free hand within the Armed Forces, says Hamre. At the same time, he points out that the Kyvik case led to increased watchfulness with regard to Nazi-inspired elements.

Small Number

I am convinced that a very small number of troops within the military have extremist views. Nevertheless, the focus on this has probably had the effect that the officers view their environment with more critical eyes than previously, Hamre says.

Question: But the watchfulness of the officers is not always sufficient?

Answer: No. Also the alertness of the troops will have to be increased.

Question: Have the Armed Forces been too naive with regard to the right-wing extremist groups?

Answer: That is possible. We cannot say anything definite until we get a full account of the extent of the infiltration.

Question: Erik Blucher maintains that 50 percent of his ostensibly 500 "Nationalists" aim at joining the Armed Forces. Is this more alarming than the "threat" from the left?

Answer: First, there may be quite a difference between desiring to join the Armed Forces and becoming accepted. Second, we do not want anybody who wants to destroy the society and the Armed Forces.

Question: Left-wing radicals, such as members of the Workers' Communist Party, are still regarded as undesirable?

Answer: It depends on what they are to be used for. For example, for service in Lebanon, I would not want any of them.

Interviews by Psychologists

In the security clearance of military personnel, they have to fill in an extensive questionnaire. They have to provide information on matters such as any trips they may have made to, and any contacts they may have in, communist countries. They are also being asked about affiliation to communist organizations.

"These questionnaires apparently are incomplete and will have to be reviewed with critical eyes. We must also look more closely into the conditions of admission," the Armed Forces chief says.

He does not want to go into details on the things that ought to be changed but points out that psychologists must become involved to find out through interviews the interests and attitudes of prospective military personnel.

"As long as people have not made themselves known specially through demonstrations or other manifestations in public, there may still be very great difficulties, also to psychologists," Sverre Hamre says.

Home Guard

Nazi infiltration into officers' training courses and within the UN forces have been uncovered. Nevertheless, most of the focus has been on the Youth Home Guard as the arena of right-wing extremists. The Armed Forces have now mapped out the membership of the organization.

"Our investigations show that the 2,000 members of the Youth Home Guard are evenly distributed all over the country. We had expected "peaks" in special locations in Oslo, but we did not find them. This surprisingly even distribution

is an indication that the number of extremists within the Youth Home Guard is extremely small," Hamre says.

Question: Has the exposure of Nazi infiltration had a detrimental effect on the general confidence in the Armed Forces?

Answer: I would not think so, but the exposures have been thought-provoking.

A total of 170,000 automatic guns are stored in the depots of the Armed Forces all over the country. Such stockpiles also include machine guns, anti-tank missiles, tanks, guns and other war materiel. Far from all of it is being sufficiently protected.

This was confirmed by Armed Forces Chief, General Sverre Hamre, to ARBEIDERBLADET.

Only in 12-24 months, all such storage facilities will have become provided with burglar-proof locks and alarm systems which are adequate considering the present conditions.

"However, if the aggressiveness and the violence in the society increase at an unabated rate, we shall soon lag behind again," the Armed Forces chief says.

Question: You feel that you are fighting with windmills?

Answer: We have been doing that all the time.

According to Hamre, such storage facilities were extremely easily accessible right up to the early sixties. When Gudmund Harlem was minister of defense, security devices were mounted which, in most places, would necessitate professional burglar equipment such as cutting blowpipes. Following the Banak thefts, additional funds were allocated for the installation of alarm systems. However, 24-hour guards have not been considered for all such depots.

These are the reasons given by the Armed Forces chief:

"The Armed Forces have got to have confidence in their people. We have got to believe that the great majority among them are honest people who are in support of the society, the Armed Forces and the government. People know where the storage facilities are and ought to report it if they should see anything suspicious. They are our most important guard.

In addition to the 170,000 small arms found in the storage facilities, 130,000 of such arms are distributed among an equal number of private homes all over the country, Hamre states. The security of these arms is also a matter of confidence between the Armed Forces and people.

Officers Would Ban Group

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 3 Mar 81 p 9

[Text] The Armed Forces cannot be criticized for the Nazi infiltration as long as the society does not provide us with rules which make it possible to keep out such elements. In my view, organizations such as the National People's Party will have to be banned. Only then shall we be able to prevent them from expanding within the Armed Forces.

This statement was made to ARBEIDERBLADET by the chairman of the Norwegian Officers' Association, Theodor Theodorsen.

According to Theodorsen, it is extremely unfair to start attacking the routines of the Armed Forces after the murders and the Nazi exposures.

"It goes without saying that these people have a predilection for arms and uniforms, but the Armed Forces have had neither the possibility nor the authority to keep them out. This is up to the politicians," says Theodorsen, who is also extremely critical of any plans to abolish the Youth Home Guard.

Group Targets Guest Workers

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 3 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Petter Nome]

[Text] Foreign workers, drug addicts and procurers. The weapons of the Nazi army would be used against these groups. This has appeared in the course of interrogations of the four young right-wing extremists who are now in custody.

The four men have been in close contact with the Hadeland murderers. They were equipped with weapons stolen from the Home Guard depot at Nesodden.

Additional arrests may be expected, but the police are extremely reluctant to reveal any information as long as the investigations continue.

"We follow up every clue we get. It is quite uncertain what the next few days may bring, but we feel that we have been making great progress in our investigations," Asbjørn Larsen, police inspector, tells ARBEIDERBLADET.

The police now have the names of at least 8-10 persons who have participated in the shooting exercises of the Nazi groups. This was confirmed by Larsen. He does not exclude the possibility that there may be more militant right-wing groups in other parts of the country beyond the two groups which have now been exposed.

Several of those arrested have been attached to the Armed Forces, and the police are still in contact with military officers. Asbjørn Larsen, police inspector, does not disregard the possibility that several right-wing extremists are in the process of gathering 'front experience' in the UN forces in Lebanon.

"However, we have nothing concrete to go by in this respect. Those arrested are, moreover, so young that it is doubtful whether anybody of their age group would have got down there," Larsen says.

It has previously been revealed that Norwegian neo-Nazis have several contacts among neo-Nazis abroad. Spain, the Argentine, Great Britain, West Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States have been in the picture. It is still unclear whether the youthful Nazi army has been sufficiently "seriously" organized to cultivate such connections.

"We seek information on such matters but have so far received no definite information," police inspector Larsen says.

According to the police inspector, the police have now formed their own investigation group to look into Nazi activities, composed of officers belonging to the two criminal police departments, the criminal investigation department and the security police. They are working at high pressure and are prepared to work nights as well, if necessary.

Can't Stop Army Infiltration

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 Mar 81 p 4

[Text] "I cannot think of any method which would totally prevent extremists from infiltrating the Home Guard. In major cities like Oslo, it is impossible for a committee of three people to look into the entire background of everybody. And the admission is not supposed to be any political screening test either. This statement was made to AFTENPOSTEN by inspector-general of the Home Guard, Knut Østbye, on his return last Thursday after a lengthy visit to the United States.

"On account of my stay abroad, I have not yet had time to become acquainted with everything that has been said and written on this subject. However, my immediate reaction is that it would be deplorable if a few extremists should be allowed to brand a group, such as the Youth Home Guard, which, after all, counts 2,000 members," Østbye says.

The inspector-general stressed the difficult task of the municipal committees in screening the applications for admission. Young extremists may very well have a clean military record, and it will then be impossible to pick them out without a thorough scrutiny of every single member of the Youth Home Guard.

Question: Against the background of the things that have happened, would it be right to abolish the Youth Home Guard?

Answer: That is a difficult question to answer. To the Armed Forces as a whole, I believe that abolition of the Youth Home Guard would be deplorable, but to the Home Guard it is not all that important. For most of the young people will go into their first-time service after a couple of years.

FRENCH DEBT WORSENS , DISTURBS FRG BANKER POEHL

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 24 Feb 81 p 36

[Article by Jean-Marc Sylvestre: "France is Borrowing"]

[Text] In the minor European currency war today, the Germans are at their wits' end. They are now criticizing French authorities for keeping the franc artificially high by encouraging capital inflows through a systematic policy of borrowing abroad, especially in Germany. Mr Karl Otto Poehl, Bundesbank president, broke his reserve and expressed regret that the "mark had become the preferred currency of debtors."

A priori, the criticism is justified. With an external foreign deficit in 1980 of 26 billion francs at the level of the current balance of payments, Mr Raymond Barre can only borrow abroad in order to finance it. More than in the past, French firms borrowed abroad.

Although loans on the international capital market only amounted to 11 billion in 1979, they exceeded 20 billion in 1980. Fiscal year 1981 will be at the same level, because since 1 January 1981, France (the French Electric Company, in particular) borrowed 1.5 billion francs.

"This is a reasonable amount," according to the office of Mr Jean-Yves Haberer, director of the treasury, who cited domestic market pressure and the need to preserve some growth, without increasing inflationary tendencies. Overall, the long-term foreign debt is 100 billion francs (approximately 2 months of exports), covered mainly by French credit abroad although 25 percent of this is fairly dubious. It is also covered for the most part by the gold and currency reserves in the Bank of France, a sum of 367 billion, up 8 billion in January.

"The franc remains stable, not because France is borrowing abroad," explained Bank of France officials, "but because we can finance the deficit without difficulty and we still have a good credit rating."

The German remarks consequently were not taken with good grace in Parisian banking circles. This is all the more true because in this area, "they are not in a position to give advice." Helmut Schmidt's Germany, in 1980, borrowed

much more than France (21 billion marks, or 49 billion francs) and because of the external debt (30 million francs) will do the same in 1981. The phenomenon is not at all astonishing. From the moment that western countries reject a drastic drop in their standard of living, they must live on credit.

KEY

1. Foreign borrowing
2. Medium-and long-term loans in billions of francs
3. Source: National Accounts and Office of the Treasury



9479

CSO: 3100

TRADE WITH SOVIET BLOC, CHINA IN 1980

Bonn DIE WELT in German 4 Mar 81 p 11

[Article by Hans J. Mahnke, Bonn: "Foreign Trade: Countries with Nationalized Trade Want To Decrease Deficits: The USSR Softened the Decline of German East Trade"]

[Text] The German East trade has further declined. The increase of exports in 1980 did not match the rise in prices. Without an increase in deliveries to the USSR there would even have been a decrease in absolute terms. Imports from state trading have at best stagnated. With the exception of the USSR and Bulgaria trade with these countries is characterized by their attempts to decrease their deficits.

German deliveries to European and Asian state trading countries (excluding the GDR and Yugoslavia) increased in 1980 only by 3 percent to DM 19.4 billion. German exports to the east, consisting only of 5.5 percent (as opposed to 6.0 percent in 1979) of total exports, did not match the increase of total deliveries abroad that amounted to 11.4 percent. Imports, rising by 8.5 percent to DM 17.38 billion, also increased considerably more slowly than total imports, which rose by 16.9 percent. The importance of imports from the east thus decreased further, from 5.5 to 5.1 percent.

The German surplus in Eastern trade decreased from DM 2.82 billion to DM 2.02 billion. Without the USSR, where a German trade deficit of DM 757 million in 1979 became a surplus of DM 532 million last year, and an increase of the Bulgarian deficit from DM 364 million to DM 550 million, Eastern trade would have been practically balanced during the previous year.

On the export side the USSR again behaved uncharacteristically. German deliveries rose by 19.9 percent to DM 7.94 billion. Even with this high rate of increase the FRG gained only a mediocre place among the Western countries last year. Great Britain and France increased their deliveries much more steeply, while the United States, partly because of the grain embargo, and Japan achieved lower figures.

Soviet deliveries to the FRG stagnated even in absolute terms (an increase of 0.4 percent to DM 7.38 billion) in spite of price increases for petroleum and gas. The reason: Moscow has throttled oil sales considerably. German deliveries to China fell markedly, by 24.0 percent to DM 2.08 billion. Peking's reluctance to import

has had its effect. The Asian giant fell from second to fourth place among German deliveries to state trading countries. A change in the tendency seems unlikely. This has been made even clearer by the suspension of some major orders. On the other hand, the imports from the PRC have developed positively. Chinese sales to the FRG rose last year by 50.6 percent to DM 1.47 billion. This decreased the German trade surplus from DM 1.76 to DM 0.61 billion.

In spite of huge economic difficulties Poland in 1980 was the second most important Eastern trade partner of the FRG. German exports rose by 8 percent (which should roughly correspond to the price increases) to DM 2.66 billion. Polish deliveries increased even by 13 percent to DM 2.49 billion. It is not probable that this development will continue. Czechoslovakia demonstrated most clearly the attempts of the countries of the Eastern bloc to reduce their deficits in trade with the FRG. For the first time in years Prague could even show a small surplus of DM 9 million, as opposed to a deficit of DM 382 million in 1979. German deliveries decreased by 4.5 percent to DM 1.89 billion, purchases, however, rose by 18.8 percent to DM 1.90 billion.

German exports to Hungary increased by 2.5 percent to DM 2.19 billion, purchases by 7.8 percent to DM 1.82 billion. Trade with Romania decreased, deliveries declined by 17.9 percent to DM 1.62 billion and purchases by 2.3 percent to DM 1.59 billion. Deliveries to Bulgaria rose by 21.1 percent to DM 874 million, while purchases decreased by 9.5 percent to DM 324 million.

9240

CSO: 3103

UIL TRIP TO U.S. JUDGED POSITIVE

Rome LAVORO ITALIANO in Italian 16 Dec 80 p 2

[Article: "Meeting Between UIL and AFL-CIO in the U.S. Is Positive"]

[Text] A UIL [Italian Union of Labor] delegation led by Giorgio Benvenuto has returned from the United States, where it had an extensive and profound exchange of views with a delegation of the AFL-CIO headed by Lane Kirkland.

In the course of their talks, which were judged quite positive, the AFL-CIO leaders confirmed that the internal discussions of the American trade union federation have produced a clear orientation in favor of reentering the international ICFTU in 1981.

Stages in the Journey

The UIL has underscored the importance of this decision, which would represent, for the international ICFTU, a step forward both in terms of making the ICFTU more representative and in terms of broadening and defining the debate concerning the principal problems of the international economic crisis. During the examination of the Italian economic and social situation, the AFL-CIO expressed a desire to assist in reconstruction of the earthquake-stricken region.

In the course of their talks the two organizations also ratified their joint appraisal of the evolution of the internal situation in Poland and the action of Solidarity. They also manifested a common concern over the possibility of external interference in the Polish situation and Warsaw Pact military intervention in Poland--an eventuality which would deal an extremely severe blow to detente and would repress in an intolerable manner a process which draws its inspiration from the achievement of a greater measure of freedom and democracy.

During his stay in the United States Giorgio Benvenuto met with the staff of the Center for Strategic Studies in Georgetown, under the direction of Leedin and Iaquer. Their talks centered on relations between East and West and between the USA and the EEC, whose role is deemed to be important, especially if it is free from Third Force temptations.

Also in the course of these talks, great interest was elicited by the updating of the Italian economic and trade union situation, the UIL's proposals for economic democracy, and the political situation. During the limited conference held at Harvard University--attended among others by Lange, Pizzorno, Paci, Mayer and

Tarantelli--the discussion of economic themes became even more central. The more prominent of these themes included, in particular, the Fiat question as it relates to the international crisis of the automobile industry, and on another level, the status of democracy in Italy and the role played in this dangerous situation by the secular and socialist forces--a role which is being observed with ever increasing interest.

Benvenuto subsequently dealt with the subject of economic democracy, in a lecture he delivered at Yale University, after which he had an opportunity to hold a series of study sessions on the international economic situation with other cultural and economic specialists, including Professors Modigliani and Griffith. The UIL delegation was also able to discuss problems relating to the Middle East situation with Senator Hamilton of the U.S. Committee on the Middle East [as published] and exchanged views on the U.S. postelection situation with high level representatives of the State Department and Reagan-Bush staff.

UIL Meets With Willy Brandt

The UIL gave its support (by sending a message) to the conference on the economic crisis--and the policies for coping with it--that was held during the past several days in Washington on the initiative of the Center for Democratic Socialism and with the endorsement of the Socialist International. In connection with this conference, the UIL delegation met with Willy Brandt.

10992

CSO: 3104

BOOK ON PROBLEMS OF SOUTH REVIEWED

Rome CONQUISTE DEL LAVORO in Italian 22 Dec 80 p 11

[Review (entitled "The South: Problem of Problems") by F. C. of the book "Mezzogiorno Industriale e operaio" by Fr. Domenico Pizzuti, Edizioni Deboniane, Naples]

[Text] This book is a compilation (revised and updated as necessary) of essays on the Southern question which analyze the situation with a view to identifying and understanding some of the more important aspects of the economic and social transformation of the South, looking toward the development and emancipation of Southern society. These studies are accordingly intended to facilitate a more thorough understanding of the scope, themes and results of the industrial and social transformation of the South and thereby make possible a substantial involvement in the effort of the working and popular classes to eliminate the economic and social inequalities that exist in the South.

In discussing certain of the more significant episodes in the process of Southern industrialization involving ITALSIDER [Italian Iron and Steel Company], Fiat, and Alfa-Sud [Alfa-South] during the decade that began in the 1960's and extended into the 1970's, it should be pointed out that at the present moment we are faced with a situation that has profoundly changed as the international and national crisis has worsened--and not solely because of the increase in the prices for petroleum products. Some industrial centers (steel and petrochemicals) have entered a state of crisis, and in certain cases (that of the Ottana SIR [industrial group] plants, for example) the continued existence of these so-called "CD's" ("Cathedrals in the Desert") has again been called into question. This crisis in the previous policy on industrialization is clearly visible in the negative evolution of industrial investment in the South during the past 4 to 5 years. The turning point in this regard came in 1975 when industrial investments in the southern regions began steadily to decrease (more rapidly than in the Center-North) following the peak attained in 1974 after completion, in the 2-year period 1973-74, of large-scale programs of industrial investments that had been initiated in the early years of the decade in question--a period during which the increase in industrial development and employment in certain sectors had exceeded the corresponding increase in the Center-North. What had occurred was the cessation of the construction of large-scale installations in the sectors of basic industry and manufacturing, and the emergence--within this group of activities--of crisis situations.

The current crisis in the policy of industrialization through the instrumentality of large-scale enterprises--a crisis offset to only a limited extent by the expansion

(In certain areas) of small and medium industry--is accompanied by an aggravation of the employment problem, especially for the younger generations, which to a great extent are unable to find work or in any case to find stable, productive and socially useful employment. Unemployment--and juvenile unemployment in particular--seems to be concentrated in the large urban areas of the South. If a change in policy does not take place the South runs the risk of becoming an increasingly dependent and welfare-oriented society. The dangers and problems dealt with in these essays could not include the new emergency caused by the earthquake disaster, but Pizzuti's insights are valid--more so, perhaps, than other theories--in stating that the South needs more than ever to be regarded as the central problem in connection with any economic program devised in this respect.

10-12

QSC: 3104

OSLO PAPER CITES BRUNDTLAND ON SWEDISH-NORWEGIAN AGREEMENT

LD301437 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 26 Mar 81 p 3

{Terje Svaboe report: "Nordic Milestone"}

[Text] "An important milestone in Nordic cooperation. A good platform for further work, not a conclusion." This was how Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland described the Swedish-Norwegian industry and energy agreement signed in Oslo yesterday. The agreement makes it clear that Norway will sell oil to Sweden, while Norway will receive electricity from the Swedes. In addition an industrial fund of 250 million Swedish kronor will be set up. Conservative party parliamentary leader Kaare Willoch expressed regrets that assured timber supplies from Sweden to Norway do not form part of the agreement.

The contents of the agreement were first made public during the Nordic Council's session in Copenhagen at the beginning of this month. Yesterday the agreement was signed by Prime Ministers Gro Harlem Brundtland and Thorbjørn Færevik. The two prime ministers will meet again in Göteborg on 28 April to look into some details in the agreement. Its main points are as follows:

Swedish companies will be able to buy Norwegian oil. In 1983 the quantity of oil will be at least 2 million tons per year and from 1984 at least 2.5 million tons. The sales of oil will take place on normal commercial terms.

Norway will be able to buy up to 2 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity every year from Sweden. The price has been fixed at around 21 Norwegian øre [100 øre equals 1 krone] per kilowatt-hour, which is more expensive than the cost of power in Norway, but corresponds to what Sweden's largest consumers have to pay.

A fund for industrial cooperation will be set up. By means of favorable term loans the fund will promote cooperation projects between Norwegian and Swedish companies. The fund will have a capital of 230 million Swedish kronor. Sweden will pay in the basic amount of 150 million kronor over 4 years, while the rest of the sum will be shared equally between the two countries.

In addition to these points the two countries' governments have committed themselves to work toward removing some of the present obstacles to cooperation between companies in the two countries. This work will principally involve harmonization of legislation.

There is also a desire to encourage jointly owned Swedish-Norwegian companies and the goal here is better cooperation in the tax field and a more flexible application of currency and credit regulations.

The two countries' governments further wish for an improvement in the opportunities for increased reciprocal trade and for joint export drives in third countries. The cooperation based on the agreement will be supervised by a mixed commission.

At a press conference yesterday in connection with the agreement's signing both prime ministers said that they were sure that the political opposition in both countries would welcome the agreement. The two prime ministers based their assumption here on the views expressed by opposition leaders in the Nordic council debate. The agreement between the two countries will last for 20 years, with the exception of the electricity supplies from Sweden which will run for 15 years with a possibility of termination after 10 years.

When the Volvo agreement [recent important agreement between Volvo and major Norwegian Company Beijerinvest] was being discussed 2 years ago an important element was Swedish timber supplies to Norway. This point is not included in the new agreement. At the press conference yesterday Gro Harlem Brundtland said that it is not politically possible for Sweden to arrange such an agreement. Both Faelldin and Gro Harlem Brundtland said that an agreement of this sort does not cause a split in the Nordic countries. Kaare Willoch said of the electricity supplies to Norway that it is difficult today to see how great the advantages will be that they will give to Norway. However, he finds it alarming that the electricity will be much more expensive than electricity Norway could have produced itself, even in the new power stations.

Willoch considers as positive the proposals to remove legislative and tax obstacles to cooperation and he hopes that the industry fund's results will be in keeping with the investments in it.

Willoch ended by saying that the agreement contains little that could not have been arranged as well or even better without a solemn treaty.

At the press conference Gro Harlem Brundtland rejected the suggestion that the purchase of electricity from Sweden at a high price shows that the government has capitulated over building projects here in Norway [a reference to the recent suspension of work on the controversial Alta Dam project in northern Norway]. She pointed out that electric power requirements will increase in the coming years and that Norway therefore needs this power, especially toward the end of the eighties. She also said that it was an oversimplification merely to point to the fact that the Swedish electricity will be more expensive than would electricity produced in Norway.

Both prime ministers had a positive approach to work toward a joint capital market in Norway, but said that work toward this and toward removing legal obstacles to cooperation would have to stretch over several years. Gro Harlem Brundtland stressed that the agreement must be seen in the long-term perspective, and that it could be more significant than the Volvo agreement. However, she did not dismiss the suggestion that the Volvo agreement had served as a source of inspiration for the present agreement.

YOUNG DEMOCRATS HOLD CONGRESS, GIVE STANDS ON ISSUES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Mar 81 p 5

[Article by S.C.: "Baum and Verheugen Court the Young Democrats"]

[Text] Leverkusen--With the election of a new chairman on Sunday at Leverkusen, a 3-day national congress of the Young Democrats came to an end. The hitherto deputy national chairman Werner Lutz, Hannover, was elected as the new chairman with 67 out of 94 votes cast, and 13 abstentions. The 31-year old landscape engineer thus followed Christoph Straesser, who had led the association for barely 4 years. About 100 delegates had tried to start anew the discussion about the association's fundamental program declarations, laid down in the "Leverkusen Manifesto," and also to clarify theoretically their positions, especially as regards the ecology movement and other political developments of recent years, for instance squatting.

In front of the delegates, FDP General Secretary Verheugen renewed on Sunday the parent party's offer to cooperate with the Young Democrats, also including discussion of principles. The party needed a youth organization which would give its attention to the difficult task of integrating even those whose attitude towards the government is critical and negative.

Already at the beginning of the congress, Friday evening, Straesser, until now national chairman of the Young Democrats, confirmed his association's known position on energy and security policies. What happened at Brokdorf had reinforced the Young Democrats in their opposition to the use of nuclear energy. Straesser demanded an "end to the atomic program" and came out again against the demonstration ban for the Wilstermarch the previous weekend.

Straesser also issued the congress's most important fighting slogan, namely to stop, as he said, the "NATO armament decision." He vigorously criticized the Federal Government's current reaction to the Soviet proposal of a moratorium on the stationing of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and called on the Federal Government to participate in new negotiations on the reduction of existing weapons systems. Straesser was even more specific in regard to Bonn's relations with its American ally; he expressed his conviction "that our loyalty to the United States can become dangerous to us in the long run." Reagan's striving for military superiority can only be a "starting signal for a new arms race."

Straesser was supported by the 86-year old member of the FDP Federal Executive Committee Born who from Leverkusen urged the party to "reconsider" security policies

and who considered even more urgent than in 1958 a new mass movement "Death to Atomic Murder." The will toward disarmament negotiations with the East must be proven in practice, Borm said. He discarded any military threat on the part of the Soviet Union as a fairy tale; and he abstained from presenting with this initiative the warning against action alliances with communists, recorded in his manuscript.

Borm's remarks were not only met by vigorous applause but also fell on fruitful ground. Nearly unanimously adopted was urgency proposition number 2, in which the Federal Government and especially Minister for Foreign Affairs Genscher were asked "to rethink and retract the hasty and factually unwarranted rejection of the Soviet proposal." For the Young Democrats who react so rapidly to Brezhnev's signals, it is only logical to condemn simultaneously NATO rearmament. Among the signatories to the proposition was also Lutz.

As late as Friday, Federal Minister of the Interior Baum would have rejected the signals to the parent party, weak as they were in Straesser's address. To be sure, the departing Judo chairman once more labeled as an error the thesis from the strategy plan for the 1980 federal elections according to which the FDP was an agency of forces "which we want to deprive of power in this society." On the other hand, Baum got upset about a sentence that the FDP frequently follows a policy reflecting the interests of a few entrepreneurs management employees.

Nevertheless, Baum reiterated the FDP's offer to start a new dialogue with the Young Democrats. He blamed his party for not having paid enough attention so far to questions of youth policies. Baum sees the Young Democrats as a grouping close to the party that could build a bridge to the youth. Baum came out against an arms race and denied at the same time that Genscher did not want negotiations with Moscow. The minister of the interior demanded moreover that the FDP orient itself toward ecological goals. As regards the right to demonstrate, Baum said, "Even in a democracy, freedom can die, and it dies unnoticed a bit at a time."

9011

CSO: 3103

PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE PARTY PROTESTS BASE EXPANSION

Bonn DIE WELT in German 2 Mar 81 p 5

[Article by Klaus Jonas: "Iceland: Communists Protest Against Expansion of U. S. Base; Foreign Minister Johannesson Firm; Dispute About Keflavik Threatens to Break Up the Coalition"]

[Text] Hardly has the conflict about the positioning of American arms in Norway been weathered, when a new one looms on the north flank of NATO. In Iceland the communist-oriented People's Alliance has again set its sights on the U. S. base at Keflavik. A mood of crisis has thus pervaded the ruling coalition of the liberal Progressive Party, the People's Alliance, and the Independence Party that has been in power only since early 1980. The reason for this is the permission that Foreign Minister Olafur Johannesson (Progressive Party) gave in November for the construction of three new bomb-proof hangars at Keflavik, each of which could house two Phantom fighters. That decision has only now become public. Construction is scheduled for the summer and is to be completed by October 1982.

Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, leader of the parliamentary fraction, of the People's Alliance charged Johannesson with having granted the Americans' permission for the hangar construction while ignoring the other coalition partners. Grimsson claimed that the expansion of the base 35 southwest of the capital of Reykjavik would result in an increased danger of attack for Iceland. Foreign Minister Johannesson remained firm: The decision was constitutionally his responsibility and would not be subject to revision.

The renewed quarrel about Keflavik--the closing of the base was part of the program of left-oriented governments as early as the 1950s and 1960s--throws light on the precarious situation of NATO in the smallest country of the alliance.

Most Icelanders do not deny that the USSR represents a threat, and that their country is an indispensable link in the Western defense. But this threat can be overshadowed by considerations of national pride and historical consciousness. It is here that the People's Alliance makes its appeal.

To be and to remain free, and to show everyone else that one is free dominates the feeling and behavior of the 225,000 Icelanders. They are not xenophobic,

but would not want even the most welcome visitor to remain in the country forever. The idea that American soldiers (some 3,000 live on the island) could marry Icelandic women or that American television could adversely affect the Icelandic language or cultural character is a touchy issue.

For NATO's global surveillance and defense network the island, itself unarmed, with the U. S. Naval Station Keflavik, is of great strategic importance. From here the ever-increasing Soviet naval movements in the North Atlantic are observed, from here the vital supply lanes between North America and Europe are to be secured. A redistribution of the surveillance tasks to Norway or England would be expensive and not very effective. And yet NATO could lose Keflavik at any time.

The Reykjavik government left a door open at the conclusion of the NATO membership treaty in 1949, a door through which many an Icelfander would like to withdraw--it was stipulated that the stationing of foreign troops and the maintenance of bases would not take place during peacetime. But where is the line between a time of peace or a time of war? This question becomes always acute whenever there are new anti-Keflavik eruptions on the volcanic island.

9240

CSO: 3103

LABOR PARTY CONGRESS SETS CAMPAIGN TOPICS

Report on Congress

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 2 Mar 81 p 3

[Report by Political Editorial Staff: "PvdA (Labor Party) Congress Behind Den Uyl in Nuclear Tasks"]

[Excerpt] Amsterdam, 2 March--The Labor Party, with a preference for cooperation with D'66 [Democrats '66], PPR [Political Party of Radicals] and PSP [Pacifist Socialist Party], wants to start pursuing a government policy in which retention of the purchasing power of minimum incomes and benefits, termination of Dutch involvement in nuclear energy and a critical NATO membership are the central points.

Even if consultation with the allies achieves little or nothing, four or five nuclear tasks will be unilaterally eliminated in the coming cabinet period, although it also has been decided that the policy must be aimed at making Europe free of nuclear arms.

By making these decisions, the election congress of the Labor Party has made it possible for its parliamentary group chairman in the Second Chamber, J. M. den Uyl, to act as primary candidate in the coming elections. In the tensely anticipated nuclear arms debate the standpoint of the party administration, which had aligned itself behind Den Uyl, received a broad majority on Saturday.

Proposals to withdraw from NATO immediately or to repel all nuclear tasks within 4 years -- in conformity with the IKV [Interreligious Peace Council] -- were rejected. The party administration was however obliged to agree to an amendment by five Groningen members which stipulates that the PvdA in principle is in favor of denuclearization of the territory and armed forces of the Netherlands. In spite of objections by the administration, that adopted amendment also states that the unilateral steps are not dependent on the result of deliberation with the allies.

CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] Chairman P. Bukman stated after the congress that the PvdA has disassociated itself further from the CDA with its pronouncements on purchasing power, nuclear plants and nuclear arms. According to Mr J. Burger -- the formateur of the Den Uyl Cabinet -- there is a risk that the PvdA will remain outside the next cabinet because of the congress pronouncements on nuclear arms.

D'66 Primary Candidate Terlouw repeated the pronouncement of the election congress of the Democrats last week in Amersfoort that D'66 has no interest in cooperation with PSP and PPR. In spite of the party administration's dissuasion, however, the PvdA congress decided to mention those two parties in so many words as the first government preference of the party.

On the advice of the party administration, on Saturday the congress retracted a number of Thursday's and Friday's decisions because financial coverage could not be found for them. Thus the lowering of the age at which one is entitled to the minimum wage (from 23 to 21 years) -- estimated at 450 million guilders until 1985 -- was rescinded. However, the lowering of youth wages (cost 100 to 200 million guilders) already applied under the present cabinet was retained in this program.

In addition, paid parental leave during illness of children under 12 years of age (300 million guilders) was dropped from the PvdA program. Here the congress went back to the initial proposal of the party administration: unpaid leave. Pregnancy leave can be expanded from 6 to 10 weeks according to the party administration, instead of to 12 weeks as the congress initially desired. Further, the unlimited introduction of a national insurance for illness costs, which had been estimated at 1 billion guilders, was replaced by the striving for "a gradual introduction" of a similar national insurance, for which no amount needs to be set aside.

The party administration expects to find the remaining extra deficit in coverage of 150 million guilders in the earlier adopted maximization of the wage income (at 3 times the net minimum wage).

Commentator Sees Party Isolated

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 2 Mar 81 p 7

[Article by J. M. Bik: "What Does the PvdA Expect from Self-chosen Isolation?"]

[Text] With all the caution which should traditionally be exercised in drawing conclusions after PvdA congresses, and certainly if it relates to election congresses such as the one in Amsterdam at the end of last week, it still has to be said: it is becoming clearer and clearer that the country's biggest political party has landed in a certain isolation.

There is more at stake than just a political isolation which can be explained by the relatively coincidental opposition role of the moment. And more is at stake too than an understandable tendency of an election congress toward portraying its own party at the start of the election campaign. It looks more like a mental isolation, which brings along a political isolation with respect to a great part of the world. Simply to act as if a great part of the Netherlands and the world really is isolated, doesn't alter that fact much.

Indeed, the most recent congress was a brisk demonstration against the wicked outside world in more than one respect.

Own history

In a certain sense one can also speak of a self-chosen (?) isolation with respect to the party's own history, and not only of that of a long time ago. For example, Chairman M. van den Berg and International Secretary M. van Traa (both elected administrators in 1979) remarkably often belittled actions and ideas of their predecessors as reprehensible "old politics." Wherever the party may be today, it must be connected as little as possible with the past. That was very well accepted, without further explanation, by the primarily young congress attendees. More than anecdotal, in this context, is the little joke made in the RAI [meeting hall] by greying Member of the Second Chamber Poppe from behind the administration table during the discussion of what has become known as the Van der Doef question about people who "think they still need legal permission to get married."

The isolation of the PvdA is not obvious everywhere, but it is indeed obvious in an alarming number of areas. Accepted, even intentioned, lack of continuity is conspicuous; an average to badly developed political memory is exalted as a virtue. 1½ Years ago the PvdA announced itself to be "currently" not in favor of modernization of NATO nuclear arms. Now that same modernization is unconditionally rejected per each "point of dispute" and must even be resisted through a "popular movement" stimulated and led by the party. (When will the first scornful remarks of CPN [Communist Party of the Netherlands] Primary Candidate Bakker or the IKV be heard on that?)

Nuclear Energy

During the Den Uyl Cabinet the PPR ministers blocked the nuclear energy plans of the Energy Note, as PPR Primary Candidate Ria Beckers reminded us last week. Now the PvdA not only is against the construction of more nuclear plants or related research and in favor of the immediate closing of the two existing nuclear plants, but -- once again -- it turns that into a point of dispute, elucidated by the youthful member of the party administration Rottenberg. Moreover, the CDA is being reproached by Opposition Leader Den Uyl for hiding behind the so-called broad social discussion (BM), while this BM was initiated precisely during the Den Uyl Cabinet.

In 1977 the central theme of the election campaign of Den Uyl and the PvdA was the "socialization of demand" and the fourth sector as a source of work opportunity where the market sector failed. The creation of jobs with the (semi) government continues to be of some importance, but the PvdA is swinging back to re-industrialization, the market sector and strengthening of industrial support. The loud criticisms of the Van Agt Cabinet that it reacts so slowly to corresponding recommendations given by the Van der Zwan WRR [expansion unknown] report last year, are not incorrect, but they sound very harsh against this background.

International

Somewhat of an isolation of international character was obvious from the rather meager delegations deputized to the congress by the big European sister parties (such as the SPD [Social Democratic Party of the FRG], Labour and the French Socialists). Even a German colleague had difficulty locating the attending SPD representative, and the short telegram in which SPD Chairman Brandt wished the

PvdA a good congress "in spite of our differences of opinion" did not permit the conclusion that the sister party in Bonn is itching to roll out the red carpet for representatives of a second Den Uyl Cabinet.

The PvdA does not always give the impression that in international relations it wants to do more than submit rapidly wilting decrees or that it can, or is willing to, summon a great deal of understanding for someone else's opinions, and that fact doesn't go unnoticed. To the extent its congress mentions the FRG, it still does that primarily in a disapproving sense. Catchwords: Brokdorf, Berufsverbote. That is strange, certainly when in the area of nuclear arms policy Primary Candidate Den Uyl attaches so much importance precisely to Bonn's role in the coming years.

Anti-innovation

The Dutch Government recently had a "stupid reaction" to the proposals which Brezhnev made to the West at the 26th party congress in Moscow, said Den Uyl to his own congress. Might it have escaped him that Bonn reacted to Brezhnev the same as The Hague did? However that may be, the PvdA showed its traditional internationalist character primarily through solidarity with central American guests and extensive attention (Friday night) for Don Martina, the prime minister of the Netherlands Antilles.

There is yet another phenomenon that indicates isolation.

Not only through their appearance, but also through their manner of speaking and discussing, the congress attendees and the most active executive members of the PvdA probably reflect only a limited part of the electorate which helped Den Uyl to no less than 53 seats in the last Second Chamber elections. That was very conspicuous this time also, without silly jokes about beards, sweaters or sandals. There is a certain anti-industrial, anti-innovation atmosphere. While the papers are full of company closings every day, a substantial congress discussion concentrates primarily on the question of "where some profit can still be made."

Where, for example, are the representatives of science, technology, (small) industry, trades people and all the other groups which made the PvdA into a popular party with a third of the voters behind it? In any event they are barely heard, so that the debate as a rule offers the limited range between "going farther" and "going just a little farther." For that matter, when things remain at "going farther," one speaks of "a tame congress."

Not surprisingly, PvdA congresses show a strong preference for political or social renewal or reform and for the protection of the socially and financially weaker groups. The role of the government should continue to be stronger and, for example, the latest congress is of the opinion that it should also take over mediation of the chamber of commerce. However, the shoe of the congress attendee starts to pinch when that government, possibly with the military, has to act as the executor or upholder of parliamentary-approved (rightist) rules or agreements. Does the government find itself in a social isolation here, or what?

Therapy

If the above impression of the congress is not too somber, the question arises of what the remedy could be. Resumption in a while of government responsibility by what is now in any event the biggest party of the country? Or could that therapy not remedy the fact either that the party which since the end of the war had gained a strong administrative reputation has gradually undergone an essential change, possibly partly as a result of too great a "pliability" of its advance guard?

It is a change which has not stripped it of potential executives but which, through the "action model," has cost it a considerable part of its executive mentality. That is a question which does not come up much during the discussion of programs, but which will possibly be of even more significance than the programs themselves after 26 May.

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VVD HOLDS CONGRESS, ISSUES ELECTION PROGRAM

Stand on Issues

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 23 Mar 81 p 3

[Text] Amersfoort, 23 Mar--The VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] is going into the elections with a program that is based on an economic zero growth and that leaves room for construction of new nuclear power plants and for modernization of nuclear weapons by placing cruise rockets on Dutch territory. The party wants to put its program into practice by continuing the collaboration with the CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] with possible support from D'66 [Democrats '66].

At the 2-day congress in Amersfoort, which established the election program on Saturday, standard-bearer Wiegel appealed to D'66 to leave room for collaboration with CDA and VVD. He felt that D'66 had "no essential differences" in program from the VVD, and asked the party to dissociate itself from the PvdA [Labor Party].

Wiegel named one issue for his party: collaboration in a cabinet in which all parties respect each other. He called upon the party to go into the elections "calmly and self-confidently": "Perhaps we have made mistakes in the period just past, perhaps we have not carried out our whole program, but people will say, 'At least they have done their best.'"

The congress made radical changes in the program Saturday. On the point of modernization of nuclear weapons it held firm to making a decision in December of this year. If no results are obtained in the arms control discussions between East and West, the VVD wants the Netherlands to station on its territory a number of cruise rockets to be definitely agreed on.

On the point of energy supply the congress stated in the program that a decision on the construction of new nuclear power plants will be made during the coming cabinet term. Proposals to postpone the decision further were rejected by a large majority.

The congress inserted a new point in the program that the Netherlands will oppose apartheid in South Africa by a dialog with that country and not support boycott measures.

The growth expectation adopted by the congress Friday, based on an average zero growth for the coming 4 years, would mean a 2.5 percent loss of purchasing power for modal incomes.

In the absence of further economies, unemployment would rise to a level of 700,000 by the end of the cabinet term in 1985.

Disagreement With Wiegel

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 21 Mar 81 p 3

[Text] Amersfoort, 21 Mar--The VVD election congress lined up yesterday against its own standard-bearer, H. Wiegel, on two points. In setting up the election program the party came out in favor of a municipal organization of the police and rejected extension of the right to vote for municipal councilmen to foreigners.

As minister of foreign affairs in the present cabinet, Wiegel has supported a different view on both points. Together with De Ruiter, minister of justice, he prepared a bill to organize the police (one corps of municipal and national police) by provinces. On the point of the voting right for foreigners, he defended in the Second Chamber a constitutional amendment to extend active and passive voting rights to foreigners in elections of municipal councilmen.

The congress adopted these decisions last evening--against the advice of the party committee--in Wiegel's absence. He was absent in connection with the cabinet meeting on economies.

On the voting-right point there was a sharp clash at the congress between proponents and opponents. In a voice vote the congress originally decided by a narrow majority (582 to 587 votes) to put the voting right for foreigners into the platform. But a written vote demanded later gave a narrow majority (606 to 583) to limiting the voting right to Netherlands alone.

Discrimination

In the discussion Mrs A. Kappeyne, M.P., warned that excluding foreigners "will cause the shadow of discrimination to fall on the VVD." She was supported by A. Korthals Altes, the party chairman, who said that exclusion of foreigners was also in conflict with Minister Wiegel's minority policy. "Please make a liberal decision," he appealed to the party.

But opponents were of the opinion that foreigners that wanted to exert an influence at the municipal level should have themselves naturalized into Netherlands. The possibility of this exists when a foreigner has lived at least 5 years in the Netherlands.

In the decision on the future police organization the congress stated in the program that police responsibilities should be turned over "as far as possible" to the municipalities. It does leave room for a limited national police organization with "as few implementing tasks as possible." This position was defended at the congress by, among others, H.J.L. Vonhoff, queen's commissioner [i.e., governor]

of Groningen. He said that a municipal organization of the police was the right place: "There is no need of a large-scale police 'alien to the locality.'"

On the other hand, E. Nypels, M.P., defended the organization of a provincial police on behalf of the VVD Second Chamber group. This plan, according to him, leaves plenty of room for maintenance of local authority over the police. Party Chairman Korthals Altes called in vain on the party to support the policy of the Second Chamber group and the present cabinet. "We cannot continue for 4 years to pull the rug out from under our own people." But the congress decided otherwise by a large majority.

Uncoupling

In the coming cabinet term the VVD will collaborate on a policy that increases the difference between wages and social security benefits. The VVD election congress stated in the program that "a certain uncoupling" of wages from benefits will be inevitable.

In an account of the program published earlier, it was indicated that the benefits would lag behind wages by 0.5 to 1 percent a year. The VVD wants to exempt from this the minimum households, i.e. households in which several people must live on one minimum income. The congress also rejected a proposal to maintain the purchasing power during the coming 4 years in the face of income reduction for the sake of maintenance and expansion of employment.

The VVD does not expect any economic growth in the next 4 years. The congress put into the election program a growth expectation that is about zero percent. The party thus reduced the growth expectation once more. Originally, in the draft program, the party was assuming an average growth of 1.5 percent, and later reduced this to an average growth of about 1 percent.

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INITIAL PHASE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 21 Mar 81 p 7

[Commentary by J.Th.J. van den Berg]

[Text] The election campaign has not yet been launched in its full intensity--most of the parties open officially at the end of April--but the traveling circus of standard-bearers and candidates for the Second Chamber has already begun. Respect for the opinion polls on the voting behavior of the voters has risen considerably, for the figures at this moment approximately reflect the starting positions.

Two trends dominate the polls: what appeared in 1977 to lead to a concentration on three or four big parties with simultaneous elimination of nearly all small parties in the Netherlands now seems, as is so often the case, to have been a passing phenomenon. The centrifugal forces have become stronger again, especially on the left, where a definite revival is observable of the PSP [Pacifist Socialist Party] and especially the CPN [Communist Party of the Netherlands]. For the PPR [Political Party of Radicals], obviously too much taken up with social and cultural problems, the tide is noticeably less healthy.

This represents losses for the three big parties, both the CDA [Christian Democratic Appeal] and the VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy] and--most of all--the PvdA [Labor Party]. Only D'66 [Democrats '66] still appears to be counting on big gains, although in the opinion polls a trend can be seen for that growth to stagnate.

D'66 again seems to be on the way back, to something like the same degree as between 1969 and 1970. At that time the decline set in rather quickly, but it is not sure that the same thing will happen this time.

The second trend is one in which the present governing combination still does not have a majority in the polls (nor D'66 and PvdA together, either), but is climbing upward very slowly. The PvdA has been hopelessly losing since the fall of 1980, although the lowest point seems to have been passed.

Practically, anything is still possible, although it is highly unlikely that the Labor Party will regain the level of 1977. Just as the CPN fell abnormally low in 1977, the PvdA scored correspondingly high--to a point hardly maintainable in the long run. Moreover, it is traditionally much harder for the PvdA to campaign as the parliamentary opposition party than in the status of a government party.

In the appraisal of these trends and, on that basis, of the chances of gains or losses that may show up in the campaign, some factors that are still completely incalculable at present play a part, and they can make hash of the present expectations.

To begin with, there is the effect of the campaign itself, which since the 1960's has been largely fought out via television. It is true that the interest in political meetings became greater again during the 1970's, but they do not have great influence on the election, unless perhaps through the "fall-out" on the media. The latter is strongest--like it or not, it is so--when more or less serious squabbles develop. The campaign in the media always benefits the right side of the political spectrum.

What is certain is that attractive appearances on TV are of great and sometimes quite sudden influence, as in 1972, when at the beginning of the campaign hardly anybody knew who Bas de Gaay Fortman was, but on 22 November he raked in seven seats. Surprises of that kind are not very likely this year, because there are no new faces in any of the parties that have a chance. The "new" figures, at least in the rôle of standard-bearers, are in the GVP [expansion unknown] and the SGP [Reform Political Union] on the one hand and PSP and DS '70 [Democratic Socialist Party] on the other.

The campaign will especially influence three types of voter that will be decisive for the election results. The first type is made up of the new voters who have turned 18 between 1977 and 1981. Their behavior is hard to predict, although--if they vote--they are inclined to vote for progressive parties. The CDA traditionally scores very low in this group, although there are indications that within this category the interest in the CDA is increasing somewhat.

But the question is whether this category will go to the polls in large numbers. Traditionally it includes the largest group of the second type of uncertain voters--the non-voters. The elections of 1977 showed how important this group is. Some 30 percent of the PvdA's gain that year came from those who had not gone out to vote in 1972 and 70 percent from new voters. Not the kind of supporters that can be counted on. For it was a year with a very high turnout (87 percent), whereas normally elections to the Second Chamber bring out between 75 and 80 percent of the eligible voters.

It has long been known that more than half of the habitual non-voters support the progressives if they can be gotten out of their habit of staying at home. A dull or not very inspiring campaign would be disastrous for the Labor Party. Dull campaigns are a regular invitation to stay at home. Massive non-voting would also be unfavorable for the D'66, although that party has less trouble from it than the PvdA, as the figures since 1977 show.

The last type of voter strongly influenced by the campaign is the "wavering" voter, who decides election by election whom to vote for and regularly changes his preference. This group is the most "dangerous," simply because it is also the biggest, comprising about one third of the entire electorate since the beginning of the 1970's. All of the big parties are dependent on it to a considerable extent.

In the voters' running back and forth between parties, it is only the balance that counts, and that is naturally a great deal smaller than 35 percent. Nevertheless, it can quite quickly make a difference of a few seats.

When we know, for example, that D'66's gains in 1977 were due almost 40 percent to switch voters, it is clear what it can amount to. In that year the PvdA's "switch balance" was slightly negative, by the way, and that shows that the switchers do not always turn the scale. Still, they are dangerous.

It is particularly the behavior of the youngest voters, the wavering voters, and the potential stay-at-homes that is almost wholly determined by the election campaign. That makes the campaign a period of "sweaty hands," for the parties if not for the voters.

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OSLO'S SOCIALIST PAPER COMMENTS ON FRYDENLUND REPORT

LD241023 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 19 Mar 81 p 4

[Editorial: "Frydenlund's Analysis"]

[Text] "Ungraspable, complex and difficult"--this was how Foreign Minister Kjetil Frydenlund described the international situation in the first sentence of his report to the Storting yesterday. There can be no doubt that there is good support for his description. The situation is characterized first and foremost by a hardening in East-West relations and also by the continuing economic crisis in the world, by the lack of success in negotiations between rich and poor nations and by the fact that new conflicts arise without existing conflicts coming any closer to a solution. And all this has led to "greater concern and pessimism in the community of nations."

The foreign minister went into detail on the hardening between East and West, which does have causes lying further back in time but which was triggered off when the Soviet Union moved into Afghanistan to prevent the population deciding how the country is to be governed.

Today we are in the middle of a period when the two superpowers are busy taking up their positions with regard to future relations between them. As yet these positions are only partially clear, but there are many indications that we are faced with an important period of reshaping in international politics.

The foreign minister attached special importance to assessing the positions of both sides with regard to the major task of starting real negotiations on arms control and disarmament and confidence-building measures, with a view to creating military balance at a much lower level of strength. Only such negotiations can break "the vicious circle of mutual suspicion." No matter how much we may regret it, it is a fact that we have entered a period when military and security policy considerations play a dominant role, and not only for the superpowers.

Here there is good reason to attach special significance to the current negotiations in Madrid, at the CSCE followup meeting, Frydenlund said. If the states of Europe and the United States and Canada can manage to reach agreement on the framework for a conference on disarmament in Europe, such a breakthrough would have "reinforcing effects creating progress in other areas." He was here referring to the years of almost fruitless negotiations in Vienna on force reductions in Central Europe, to the expected new negotiations between the superpowers on the so-called "strategic"

nuclear arms and nuclear missiles in Europe and to the work on disarmament problems in a global context. If such a breakthrough is reached in Madrid we will hear about it in the course of the spring. In recent statements by President Brezhnev, Frydenlund saw "renewed hope" that this breakthrough could materialize.

Otherwise the foreign minister gave more analysis than evaluation in his exposition of East-West relations. But he stressed the fundamental importance of the Poles' being allowed to solve their problems without interference from outside, and that developments in Poland--no matter what they are--will have a decisive effect on developments in Europe, on East-East-West relations and on relations between the superpowers.

In connection with his account of the viewpoints which look as if they will dominate the new Reagan administration's foreign policy, Frydenlund criticized in indirect but clear formulations the policy of those now in power in the United States toward civil war-torn El Salvador; the problems of social and political justice in El Salvador cannot be solved through the use of military force, they must be solved without military interference from outside and through negotiations between the political groupings in the country, which should create a broad foundation for the necessary reform policies. Frydenlund said that he felt the need to quote from the speech which Archbishop Oscar Romero delivered the day before he was murdered last year (by the rightwing extremist murder squads who are the country's real rulers today): "No government can be useful if it does not have its roots in the people, and it is even less so if it tries to assert itself through bloodshed and torture."

We would have liked to have seen Foreign Minister Frydenlund saying more openly that the United States is treading a dangerous and mistaken path in El Salvador. The United States does not seem to understand that it is dealing with a people in revolt against decades of exploitation and repression, far removed from some Soviet-supported Cuban communism fighting a democratic regime. The forces which the United States says it wants to oppose in El Salvador could on the contrary be given their chance if Reagan continues to move in the direction he is following now.

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BRUNDTLAND ENJOYING FAVOR IN POLLS, PRESENTS PROGRAM

Main Goal: Full Employment

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 7 Feb 81 p 6

[Text] "Work for everyone will be the government's main job," Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland stressed when she presented the new government's initial declaration in Storting yesterday. "But this will be a more demanding task than it has been in the past due to the growing mass unemployment in the world," she added.

The prime minister emphasized that finding jobs for all is a key to social security and human development. "We must have a labor environment with more room for freedom of choice and greater opportunities to meet the needs of different people. Part of the job will be to create new jobs for young people and women and to form working life so there is room for the elderly, the handicapped and other groups with special needs," said Harlem Brundtland.

The prime minister said that the government also views it as an important task to check price increases. "Sharp price increases can threaten full employment and undermine the equalization we are aiming at. In cooperation with labor organizations the government will take care that wage developments do not lead to increased price and cost pressures. The competitive ability of business must be guaranteed and productivity must be improved," the prime minister said.

The government expects that growth in both public and private consumption must be modest in the times ahead. Within these narrow limits the government will pursue a united policy that places special emphasis on improving the situation of the groups with a weak position in society. It was further stressed that environmental protection will be an important part of all planning and the government will emphasize creating a better environment in which children and young people can grow up and one in which old people can live more meaningful lives.

The declaration stated that whatever increased funding there is room for in the health sector should be used primarily for measures in the local community, mental health care and health care for the mentally handicapped. Through

preventive measures and social subsidies the government intends to help cut the number of terminated pregnancies. Working for equality between men and women will also be a government priority. In a separate report to Storting the government will draw up the main outlines of a social housing policy. The government will also place great emphasis on continuing efforts to clarify the rights and living conditions of the 'peeps.

The prime minister also said that the economic and political uncertainty prevailing in the world today makes an active peace policy vital. With Norwegian cooperation in NATO as a starting point the government will work actively for detente and arms reduction.

The prime minister concluded her speech by inviting the parties in Storting to participate in an open and pragmatic cooperation to solve these problems and she also asked for the support of all groups in society.

New Premier Buoy Party

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 18 Feb 81 p 6

[Article by Bent Inge Bye]

[Text] "Great optimism has lit a spark in the Labor Party. The choice of Gro as prime minister acted like a vitamin injection. Our self-confidence has been restored and we can detect a good fresh mood that bodes well for the election. The belief is now spreading among our active members that we can win the fall election," said Ivar Leveraas, Labor Party secretary.

A strong "Gro wind" is now blowing within the Labor Party. Several party county groups have now held their annual meetings and report very positive reactions to Gro Harlem Brundtland's succession to the prime minister post.

"One of the best aspects is the increase in people joining the party apparatus which has been enormous. In several areas sign-up drives and other campaigns have been tried with very good results. It has become much easier for us to work," said Leveraas who stated that the Labor Party will now try to utilize the positive mood left in the wake of the prime minister changeover. The central party organization is now launching a broad advertising campaign.

An extensive study activity is currently under way throughout the labor movement. Hundreds of study and debate groups have been set up to work on the program to be presented at the Labor Party congress in April.

What does Leveraas think will stand in the foreground of the political debate in the immediate future?

"Housing policy will be central. And the debate on employment problems will probably increase in intensity. On the international level the labor movement

is preparing an attack to counteract the high unemployment rate. There are now about 23 million people in the western world who do not have work. I think there will also be a debate on our social welfare benefits. And there are many indications that there will be a strong discussion on further democratization efforts," party secretary Ivar Leveraas told ARBEIDERBLADET.

Opposition: Inflation Fight Forgotten

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 20 Feb 81 p 5

[Text] "The fight against inflation is vital because it will insure employment in Norway," said Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland during yesterday's debate on the government proclamation in Storting. But she ran into sharp criticism from the opposition, led by Conservative parliamentary leader Kare Willoch, charging that the government has not checked inflation. "The government is pursuing an inflationary policy," Willoch said and during the debate "price minister" Sissel Ronbeck conceded: "We are extending ourselves a little more today than revenues cover..."

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said that yesterday's debate confirmed that the Christian People's Party has set real changes in the abortion law as a condition for government cooperation with the Conservatives. She then questioned whether there is now any real nonsocialist government alternative and also asked what kind of stand such a government would take on abortion. "The voters have a right to know," the prime minister said.

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said in her speech that the government intends to combat inflation because this is the same thing as fighting for jobs in vital branches and championing the weak members of society. She also commented on the upcoming income settlements and said that the responsibility for giving them decent limits and a social profile would rest on the two sides. She pointed out that the income growth there is room for must benefit the weaker groups.

This was confirmed by Finance Minister Ulf Sand who added that tax plans for 1981 must be viewed in connection with income increases. He repeated that if necessary the government is prepared to adjust the tax plan in connection with wage agreements in order to safeguard the low-income profile.

In his first contribution Conservative parliamentary leader Kare Willoch criticized the government for pursuing an inflationary policy rather than checking inflation. Such a policy will jeopardize prosperity and social security, said Willoch. This criticism was followed up by the parliamentary leader of the Christian People's Party, Lars Korvald, who said that with price increases as high as they are the government is reaping the benefits of its own policy. Center parliamentary leader Johan J. Jakobsen also questioned whether continuing the economic and business policies of the last regime would contribute effectively to the fight against inflation.

The vice chairman of the Storting Finance Committee, Conservative Rolf Presthus, reminded the group that prices rose 11 percent from 1979 to 1980, that prices last December were 13 percent higher than they were a year before and finally that the price index for January showed that prices rose 15 percent in the last 12 months! He criticized Consumer and Administrative Affairs Minister Sissel Ronbeck for taking these problems too lightly. "The Labor Party puts too little emphasis on the point that public consumption is too high, that its stimulating cuts are too modest and that the stock market is dead, said Presthus who deplored the fact that the Labor Party has rejected regular tax relief.

Consumer and Administrative Affairs Minister Sissel Ronbeck made it clear that unlike governments in other lands the Norwegian government did not intend to use unemployment as a tool in the fight against inflation. She said that one reason for the price hikes is that demand is greater than supply in the economy.

"However we are now stretching ourselves a little farther than we can go and this is a doubtful practice in the long run, as you know. There are two ways to correct this situation. We can increase production and/or reduce consumption. The government is stressing the first alternative. Until things ease up a little we must aim at a very moderate growth of consumption," said Consumer and Administrative Affairs Minister Sissel Ronbeck.

Liberal parliamentary leader Hans Hammond Rossbach said the center alternative is not a realistic government alternative as long as the Center Party and the Christian People's Party are lumped with the Conservatives. He also said that it is unthinkable for the Liberal Party that a straight Conservative government might be the only alternative to a Labor regime. "The threat of a straight Conservative government makes a center coalition government a more relevant alternative," Rossbach said.

Hanna Kvanmo (Socialist-Left) stated that the abortion resolution of the Christian People's Party had effectively torpedoed a real and credible coalition of the Conservative, Center and Christian People's parties. "We must face the fact that the choice will be between two minority governments--a straight Conservative government or a Labor government," she said.

Security Policy Debate Continues

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 20 Feb 81 p 5

[Text] "The Conservatives are throwing suspicion on the government's and the Labor Party's position on security policy," Foreign Minister Knut Frydenlund said in yesterday's debate. Conservative parliamentary leader Kare Willoch disputed Frydenlund's accusation and said it was not throwing suspicions when the Conservatives indicate the dangerous consequences it would have if security policy came under the influence of the left wing of the Labor Party.

In his speech Foreign Minister Frydenlund sharply attacked what he called the suspicions thrown by the Conservatives on the attitude of the government and the Labor Party toward security policy. He pointed out that the debate on these issues in the Labor Party is not a sign of weakness and said that no party has worked as consistently to get Norway into NATO and keep it in the alliance than the Labor Party.

"Another reality is that Labor-based governments have shaped the security policy that has such broad support. These realities are ignored by the Conservatives," said the foreign minister.

Frydenlund added that the Conservatives adopt different stands on vital foreign policy issues when they are in the opposition than they do when they are in control of the cabinet. He said this duplicity comes out for instance when the government is criticized for yielding too much to the Soviet Union in Svalbard and on human rights issues. "The Conservatives do this in spite of the fact that when they were in a ruling position they didn't bring these things up either," he said. He also charged the Conservative Party with not normalizing relations with West Germany to a greater extent while the party was in power by permitting West German participation in military maneuvers in Norway as the Labor government later did.

"Both the foreign minister and the prime minister have a positive view of the debate that leads to the left wing in their own party attacking vital aspects of Norwegian security policy," Willoch said.

"They are quick to talk about casting suspicions when the Conservatives underline the need for firmness and point out the dangerous consequences it would have if policy is influenced by the claims of the leftists. I am reminding people that the foreign policy opposition in the Labor Party is constantly increasing the pressure."

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said she agreed with Frydenlund and that the Labor Party had to react when the Conservatives used the casting of aspersions as a method of dealing with this question.

Conservative Lars Roar Langslet replied that it is not the Conservatives who are creating doubts about the government's policy, on the contrary central members of the Labor Party are doing their best to accomplish this. "We don't want a split on vital national issues of this sort but we would be betraying our trust if we failed to warn against the consequences of division and lack of clarity in the ruling party," said Langslet.

Center Party parliamentary leader Johan J. Jakobsen said he had expected the government declaration to contain a clearer definition of the government's line on security policy. He said that the fact that the concept of "nuclear-free zones in Nordic regions" is interpreted differently by various Labor people created uncertainty in Norway and in other countries.

Conservative Hakon Randal said that the debate on nuclear-free zones in the Labor Party illustrated the conflict over the choice of party direction and pointed out that the program item intended to get young people to rally round the party's banner had turned into a collection of explanations and excuses that created new doubts.

Lars Korvald, parliamentary leader of the Christian People's Party, expressed hope that the new government would not get tangled up in all the internal Labor contradictions on foreign policy as the previous government did. For this to succeed, Korvald said, they must stop trying to find new ways to unite all the factions, using foreign policy in an internal party struggle.

The parliamentary leader of the Socialist-Left Party, Hanna Kvanmo, also commented on the debate over nuclear-free zones and called it frightening that Norway allows itself to be "called on the carpet" to explain the program plans of a Norwegian party running for election in the fall. "By accepting this intervention in Norwegian politics the government will reduce Norway's status from being the smartest student in the 'NATO class' to being the absolute dunce of the class," Ms Kvanmo said.

Youth Jobs Program

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 20 Feb 81 p 5

[Text] The government has pledged to arrange things so that all young people get a chance for training or work by the end of 1981 according to Labor and Municipal Affairs Minister Harriet Andreassen.

In the government announcement debate she characterized unemployment : one of the worst things to happen to a person and added: "The government will continue to work to insure that all people from 16 to 69 who want to work will be able to find paid jobs on a fulltime or parttime basis within a certain amount of time or else they will be offered suitable training."

Cabinet minister Andreassen stressed that the goal of work for all means that labor market policy cannot be adjusted simply to fit the so-called "normal wage earner." It is equally important to guarantee entrance for people outside working life and to prevent groups of wage earners from being forced out. In this connection the labor minister referred specifically to the handicapped, older workers, young people and women. "The government has pledged itself to arrange things so that all young people will be offered training or a job by the end of 1981," cabinet minister Andreassen said.

Conservative Jo Benkow recalled that the slogan of "Work for All" was created by the political parties in the joint program after the war in 1945. Now, 36 years later, the new prime minister confirms that this is a firm goal. "She can safely say that and she can do so on behalf of all parties," Benkow said.

Jo Benkow also reminded his hearers that productivity is dangerously low and it continues to decline. "There is certainly enough experience to show that we cannot dawdle our way to prosperity or increased productivity. At a time when jobs are scarce we need a new policy," stated Jo Benkow.

Most Prefer Brundtland

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 28 Feb 81 p 7

[Article by Thor Viksveen]

[Text] Some 45 percent of the voters prefer Gro Harlem Brundtland as prime minister while 40 percent prefer Kare Willoch.

This was revealed by an opinion poll conducted for ARBEIDERBLADET by the Norwegian Opinion Institute. The interview work was carried out between 9 and 22 February, a short time after the change in government.

Asked about their confidence in the new government 61 percent replied that they had a great deal or a moderate amount of confidence.

Half the women in the survey replied that they preferred Harlem Brundtland while 34 percent of the women would rather have Willoch. Among men there is a scant majority for the Conservative parliamentary leader--45 percent want Willoch and 41 percent prefer Harlem Brundtland.

Those who weren't sure added up to 9 percent who didn't know which they preferred while 6 percent answered that they did not prefer either.

The question about confidence in the Harlem Brundtland government was worded like this: "Do you have a great deal, a moderate amount, not much or very little confidence in the government?"

Out of all those asked, 18 percent replied a great deal, 43 percent a moderate amount (these two groups add up to 61 percent), 28 percent not much and 9 percent very little (37 percent negative in all).

The division between men and women on this question also showed that in general women had greater confidence in the new government than men.

In all 1083 people were interviewed in this opinion poll.

Questions similar to those asked in this poll have not been published previously. Even so there is some basis of comparison with other surveys on the same theme.

On 17 February MORGENBLADET published a survey from the Norwegian Opinion Institute in which respondents were asked to state their views on the person

they would prefer to see as prime minister. In that survey voters were not limited to two candidates for prime minister but to a list of leading politicians. The poll was taken before the prime minister changeover. On that occasion 37 percent answered that they wanted Willoch, 24 percent said Odvar Nordli and 10 percent Gro Harlem Brundtland.

AFTENPOSTEN published a poll last October in which respondents were asked to state whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the Nordli government then in power. At that time 40 percent replied that they were satisfied (on a scale from 1 to 3), 28 percent that they were dissatisfied, while 31 percent expressed neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction with that government.

Even though the opinion poll published today does not have clear parallels with previous polls it can be said that a change of climate has occurred in people's views of a Labor prime minister and a Labor government compared to conditions a few months ago.

Few Like Public Officials

Only a third of those asked think public officials are helpful according to a study made by the state Rationalization Directorate in order to map public attitudes toward the administration.

About 1400 adults were interviewed in the study and over half expressed negative feelings about the way the administration functions.

Half of those asked agreed that there is waste of money and labor in the public sector. An equal number agreed that processing matters in public offices took too long and was too complicated.

Those most critical are younger people with a high level of education who live in big cities.

Two-thirds of those asked think it takes longer to process documents in the public sector than in the private sector. But as many as 86 percent say that the public administration is not fairer in its decisions. On the other hand three out of five thought the public administration is more willing to correct errors that have been committed.

"The state administration has been inadequate in carrying out new tasks effectively," said former rationalization director Leif Skare in an administration newsletter issued by the Rationalization Directorate. He said this was due to such things as unrealistic goals and poor planning in an administration apparatus lacking the motivation or capacity for self-renewal.

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CSO: 3108

CHRISTIAN PARTY'S ABORTION STAND PERILS CENTER-RIGHT RULE CHANCE

Christian Party Ultimatum Delivered

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 19 Feb 81 p 7

[Text] The abortion dispute between the Christian People's Party and the Conservatives has intensified and threatens to put a stop to the chances of a nonsocialist government coalition after the election. The only thing that might save the three nonsocialist parties from a total split is that the Conservatives favor guaranteeing real legal protection for the unborn fetus.

A resolution from the Storting group of the Christian People's Party yesterday stated that the prerequisite for party participation in a nonsocialist government would be the provision of real legal safeguards for unborn life by such a government, in other words the elimination of abortion on demand. The Storting group of the Christian People's Party will not accept the idea that a woman should have the right to make her own decision with regard to abortion.

The statement goes on to say that KRF [Christian People's Party] will work for a nonsocialist majority after the election and that a nonsocialist government should be formed in which the party could participate on its initial premise. But KRF participation in such a government would depend among other things on the abortion stand favored by such a government, according to the unanimous resolution.

KRF parliamentary leader Lars Korvald said at a press conference after the group meeting yesterday that the demand for the elimination of the right to unrestricted abortions is a minimum requirement for the Christian People's Party and there is no question of changing it. "We have set a minimum which must be met," he emphasized.

KRF chairman Kare Kristiansen did not regard the resolution as an ultimatum but he agreed with Korvald that the line is drawn on unrestricted abortion. Kristiansen maintained that in its statement KRF had extended itself in an effort to show its willingness to support nonsocialist cooperation. "If it is impossible to form a nonsocialist government on the basis of the initial situation outlined in the statement it will not be the fault of KRF," he said.

The Storting group's resolution came after the chairman and vice chairman of the party and the group had worked out a proposal. The resolution will now be sent out for discussion by the central committee and the national committee with the aim of presenting it at the party's congress this spring. Yesterday Kristiansen said the mood in the party rank and file indicates that there will be support there for the view expressed by the Storting group.

Conservatives, Center Party Complain

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 19 Feb 81 p 7

[Article by Nils Ottar Ask and Thor Viksveen]

[Text] The statement issued yesterday by the Storting group of the Christian People's Party was received with regrets by the two other cooperating parties, the Center Party and the Conservatives. No prominent representative of the two parties would admit officially that this would considerably complicate the formation of a nonsocialist government but it was conceded that this would now be somewhat more difficult.

In a comment on the resolution Conservative parliamentary leader Kare Willoch stressed that Conservative Storting representatives would continue to have a free rein on the abortion issue. Surveys previously published in ARBEIDERBLADET indicate that there would be enough representatives supporting self-determined abortion in the Conservative parliamentary group after the election that they along with Labor and SV [Socialist-Left] members would provide the necessary majority in Storting to defeat a law depriving women of the right to abortions on demand.

Willoch said this: "As always it is up to KRF itself to interpret the party's guidelines including those expressed in the statement issued by the party's Storting group. I am convinced that all Conservatives will give complete respect to the decision by the KRF Storting group to work for their fundamental view on abortion, even though the party stood alone in previous discussions of this issue. When it comes to the possibility of finding other solutions I would like to stress that it is not the government but Storting that will decide the problem of changing the abortion law," said Willoch who said Conservative Storting representatives would be given a free choice on the matter.

"Since almost all the Conservative Storting candidates have already been nominated they will have this freedom of conscience regardless of what party organs may decide later," the Conservative parliamentary leader said.

The Center Party's parliamentary leader, Johan Jakobsen, had this comment to make to ARBEIDERBLADET:

"I am glad that the KRF Storting group voted unanimously to negotiate with other nonsocialist parties on the formation of a majority government. Many

voters would be disappointed if a nonsocialist majority this fall proves unable to work together on a new abortion law providing better legal safeguards for the life of the unborn and spelling out society's joint responsibility for this."

Won't the adamant abortion stand of KRF complicate the chances for government cooperation?

"It could, among other things because concepts such as legal safeguards and abortion freedom are subject to different interpretations," Jakobsen said to ARBEIDERBLADET.

Party Wouldn't Join Coalition

Oslo NORGES HANDELS OG SJOFARTSTIDENDE in Norwegian 20 Feb 81 p 4

[Text] A long-awaited clarification of the Christian People's Party's view on abortion and its possible consequences with respect to government negotiations in the fall has now come. Actually it is not so much a clarification as a spelling out of something already well known. And the conclusion is the same as it was before: KRF would like to help change the system if the election results permit but the party will not join a government whose stated purpose is to keep the abortion law we have today or a government that would oppose the suggestion of alterations to it.

Some people feel this last leaves the back door open to the extent that the Conservative Party with its freestanding representatives would not oppose a proposal from KRF members in a coalition government to make changes in the law. Such a proposal would later be voted down in Storting because it would gain the support of KRF representatives alone plus a few others. This would allow KRF to present its proposal, define its position and suffer defeat on the issue. Cooperation could then continue. Seen from another point of view the theory means that Conservative representatives in a nonsocialist coalition government would participate in drafting a proposed amendment to the law that would then be presented and defeated by the party's own representatives among others, in other words a deliberate double play to placate KRF.

It would be farfetched to believe that any of this would be possible to achieve politically. The idea seems somewhat unrealistic. It would be a political double play of such dimensions that it is hard to believe that anything of the sort is being planned.

In a continuation of this weakly-based theory there are speculations about the fact that Lars Korvald's days in national politics will soon be numbered. As everyone knows he will shift to his new position as county councillor in Ostfold when this session of Storting concludes. Some say this would enable party chairman Kristiansen, who is alleged by some to have a more pragmatic attitude toward abortion, to work harder for cooperation.

There does not seem to be adequate documentation for that view either. It assumes that Korvald is personally guiding the party view on this issue in a way that is stronger than the views expressed by party members and their representatives on various party organs. That is hardly the case. The opposition to abortion on demand is probably deeply rooted in the party and it is a real question of conscience for the vast majority of KRF voters. In addition there are people in the Storting group and other bodies who strongly and clearly want to stick to the abortion resolution as a valid and quite central principle for government participation. Their views are unlikely to be changed by a formal evasion of this stand.

Thus the conclusion must be that unless the Conservatives are genuinely willing to amend the abortion law--which is out of the question as Conservative leaders see it--the dream of a nonsocialist three-party government has definitely been punctured. Unfortunate, of course, but a political reality even so.

The next chapter will have this title: Will the Conservatives try to rule together with the Center Party with the tacit support of KRF or will it lend support to the hope of those who would secretly like to go it alone?

'Most Serious Setback' for Nonsocialists

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 20 Feb 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] Many people were undoubtedly looking forward to the presentation of a joint nonsocialist government alternative when the Harlem Brundtland government's assumption of power came up for debate in Storting yesterday. Unfortunately this proved to be impossible. A Conservative attempt to work out a statement of intent to form a broad coalition government if the fall Storting election leads to a nonsocialist majority was rejected in advance by the chairmen of the Christian People's Party and the Center Party. The evening before the government debate was to begin the Storting group of the Christian People's Party met to discuss the cooperation situation based on the party's stand on abortion. The result was a statement quite different from the one coalition supporters in many parties had hoped for. A unanimous Christian People's Party Storting group concluded that while KRF is prepared to hold talks with the two other coalition parties on a possible government formation this would have to be on terms set by the Christian People's Party.

There is general agreement among political observers that the statement from the parliamentary group of the Christian People's Party as well as statements by party chairman Kare Kristiansen must be regarded as an ultimatum. This is supported by statements from the party leadership. For his part Kristiansen has stressed that the formulation of the abortion issue is the Christian People's Party's minimum requirement for nonsocialist cooperation and to

further remove all doubts the party's parliamentary leader, Lars Korvald, has made it clear that this is a boundary that cannot be passed.

We respect plain speaking and like any other party the Christian People's Party has an obvious right to work for its basic viewpoints--on abortion as well as any other issue. In a cooperation all partners should respect each other's viewpoints. But it is just as obvious that it goes against the very idea of cooperation to present ultimatum demands. This is especially true of matters known in advance to provoke contrary ideas for naturally partners in a cooperation cannot dictate to each other which stand to take. If--like the Christian People's Party on the abortion issue--one commits oneself to a definite solution unacceptable to the cooperating partners this is the equivalent of breaking off the cooperation. And not only that. Such a move demonstrates that one isn't really suited to take part in political cooperation at all.

The Christian People's Party's ultimatum on the abortion issue is the most serious setback to date for the cooperative efforts of the nonsocialist parties. If KRF maintains its ultimatum as a basis for party participation in a nonsocialist government formation it means that a nonsocialist majority government will not be a realistic possibility after the fall election. That would be very regrettable.

Brundtland: Could Cause 'Catastrophe'

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 20 Feb 81 p 6

[Interview with Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland by ARBEIDERBLADET reporter]

[Text] Once again we see that the nonsocialist parties are unable and unwilling to unite. That was Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland's major impression in a talk with ARBEIDERBLADET after the debate on the government announcement in Storting yesterday.

[Question] In other words you have a hard time seeing an alternative to the policies of the government?

[Answer] I think this is getting increasingly worse from one debate to the next. It began with the opening speech debate last fall, continued with the finance debate and now we have seen the same thing demonstrated in the government announcement debate. It is remarkable that the nonsocialists are having so many problems. The nonsocialist cooperating parties agree on only two points, namely their mutual evaluation of price increases as serious and security policy as important. But of course hardly anyone really disagrees on these points. The Labor Party and the government also regard price increases as serious and intend to attack the problem politically. The Labor Party also thinks security policy is important and will continue to take the responsibility for it as the party has done in most of the postwar period.

My main objection to the nonsocialist parties is that they haven't come up with any concrete political alternative measures to the government's policies. I think for example that it is daring of Kare Willoch to call for a new policy as he did in this debate when he has not given substance to this "new policy" on a single point.

[Question] Has the abortion issue again become central to the Norwegian political debate?

[Answer] Ever since the Conservatives took their nonstand it has been clear to me that this would have to end in a catastrophe for the Christian People's Party. We have watched the Christian People's Party struggling with internal problems for some time. In reality there were only two holes the party could fall into, either KRF would have to undermine everything the party has stood for throughout the years or it would have to destroy nonsocialist cooperation on a joint government alternative.

[Question] In other words you don't think such an alternative exists any more?

[Answer] If the Christian People's Party's resolution and Lars Korvald's statements are to be believed this government alternative no longer exists. But we will probably see a struggle between the Conservatives and KRF in the future. The Christian People's Party's "plank" with respect to a joint nonsocialist government alternative is to present things as if it is now up to the Conservatives to change their stand. But I agree with Kare Willoch there that the train has already left the station. All the Conservative Storting candidates have been nominated and they were given a free hand on abortion before the nominations took place.

[Question] Has this last debate changed the government's chances for getting necessary cooperation from the parties in Storting?

[Answer] No, not as far as I can see. It seems that it would be just as easy for some opposition parties to work with the Labor Party as for them to cooperate among themselves.

[Question] It is your main task and that of your government to help win the election for the Labor Party. Do you feel optimistic about this task considering what has happened since the change in government?

[Answer] Yes. When we got going and became confident in ourselves--which I think we had every reason to be--the effects became obvious. The other parties have every reason to fear our political base and our ability and determination to translate it into practical politics.

Means New Political Constellation

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 20 Feb 81 p 6

[Commentary by Thor Viksveen]

[Text] "I think this debate will be remembered in the context of serving as a funeral speech over the long-discussed joint nonsocialist government alternative."

These words were spoken during Labor representative Kjell Magne Fredheim's speech in yesterday's debate on the announcement of the new government. In the Storting environment--and far beyond the ranks of the Labor Party--there were many who shared that opinion.

Due to the shift in prime ministers the Labor Party released positive forces presaging a struggle of quite a different caliber than we have become accustomed to in the general exchange of words in Storting in recent years. After the Christian People's Party's Storting group issued its clear abortion ultimatum to the Conservatives the night before the debate began the Labor Party had an initial advantage that would have been hard to dissipate. And that did not happen. The government party went to work aggressively under the leadership of a new prime minister who managed to draw up the contours of a united Labor Party while at the same time revealing the obvious shortcomings in the nonsocialist government alternative.

The opposition was confused and was unable to demonstrate political unanimity following the step taken by the Christian People's Party.

Abortion Issue

The parliamentary leader of the Christian People's Party, Lars Korvald, who has been the driving force behind the party's categorical abortion stand, further reinforced the impression in yesterday's debate that there was no leeway in the KRF position on debate. Not only was it made clear that the party would not join a government giving women the right to decide for themselves on the issue of abortion, he also said the party would not for tactical reasons allow Storting to take a different standpoint from that of a nonsocialist government. A parliamentary majority in favor of a law giving women self-determination rights would also lead KRF to kiss nonsocialist government cooperation goodbye.

This adamant view in combination with the reiteration several times in yesterday's debate by Conservative politicians of the fact that the party's Storting representatives would have a free choice on the issue made it hard to see what contortions could be taken to secure a nonsocialist three-party government if the election provides a majority basis for one.

Easier for KRF

Although KRF has dramatically complicated nonsocialist cooperation party leaders achieved something equally important--with one stroke they managed to create the internal peace the party needs. The vacillation on abortion recently has greatly irritated local organizations. The clarification now will undoubtedly help in the unification needed prior to the party congress this spring. The price for unity has become incredibly high but it is definitely needed to get the rank and file to fall in.

Yesterday's debate, one of the last chances for the nonsocialist opposition to clarify its alternative before the Storting election, fizzled out as a result.

The three nonsocialist parliamentary leaders talked about their own party issues, mainly talking past each other. The man who was the joint nonsocialist prime minister candidate, Kare Willoch, made the traditional Conservative attack on the government. He was both unwilling and unable to close the joint nonsocialist ranks.

It drew attention when the otherwise verbally quick Willoch failed to take the floor after Prime Minister Harlem Brundtland's speech yesterday. Party strategists evidently felt Willoch would not make a good showing against our new prime minister. His arrogant and at times caustic replies would not look good under the glare of TV spotlights. His failure to take the floor was in many ways symbolic of his inability to stand out as the joint nonsocialist spokesman needed to engage in hand-to-hand combat with the nation's prime minister.

Center Party

The Center Party also played a retiring role at this crucial meeting of Storting, but with more enthusiasm than before. We don't think Center people feel deep regret about the KRF abortion move. This is the party that has always acted as the "enfant terrible" of nonsocialist cooperation. Now the party--on the 10th anniversary of the dissolution of the Borten regime--can watch the conflict from the sidelines.

This probably also eased another burden from party shoulders. It will be easier to take up the abortion issue at the party's upcoming congress. The likely result is a resolution supporting the same principles as those advocated by KRF but worded less restrictively.

New Constellation

Former British Prime Minister Harold Wilson once said that a week in politics can be as long as a year and a year can be as long as a week. One should therefore be cautious about anticipating future events. But if the KRF resolution does prove to be the last nail in the proverbial coffin of broad nonsocialist cooperation it is quite clear that new patterns of cooperation might open up. No one can say now what they might look like. It cannot be ruled out

that under some circumstances the center parties might be more interested in turning to the left than to the right. In the next few years Norwegian politics will be more exciting than it has been for many many years.

Christian Party's Strategy Weighed

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 23 Feb 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] According to statements from prominent Christian People's Party people there is now a feeling of relief in the party at having finally clarified the KRF stand on abortion and on the possibility of joint nonsocialist government cooperation after the election. It will be easier to discuss in the future whether the KRF Storting group represents political wisdom or politics as the art of the possible. For our part we have said repeatedly that political cooperation is impossible if its elements make adamant demands on matters of a controversial nature. Cooperation must be based on mutual respect for each other's views and individual characteristics. Attempts at political double plays or extortion will always be doomed to failure. This has been amply demonstrated by coalition governments in both Norway and Sweden.

We are not accusing the Christian People's Party of double dealing. But the resolution made by the KRF Storting group is unpleasantly reminiscent of extortion on the political level--at least if the party wants to participate in a nonsocialist majority government after the election.

AFTENPOSTEN has not written off such a government formation. But--like the Conservative leadership--we have made it absolutely clear that if the Christian People's Party maintains its ultimatum-like stand on the abortion issue it will mean that a nonsocialist majority government cannot be regarded as a realistic possibility after the upcoming election. And since the Center Party will participate in a government only if the Christian People's Party is included this would mean the Conservatives would have to try on their own. No one should doubt that the Conservative Party is ready for this--always supposing that the Storting election produces a total majority for all the nonsocialist parties.

As we all know the KRF Storting group stressed in its unanimous statement that the prerequisite for party participation in a nonsocialist government is that this government guarantee real legal protection for unborn life--meaning the elimination of the right to self-determined abortion. The definition of "self-determined" abortion is that the woman has the final and decisive word on the question of whether to terminate a pregnancy. Given the probable composition of the next Storting we can say with some certainty that it will not provide a majority in favor of a law removing the right of self-determination from a pregnant woman.

Some Christian People's Party leaders have found it "remarkable," "depressing," and "surprising" that certain newspapers and politicians have interpreted the Storting group's resolution as an ultimatum. And a few clear-sighted and extra sharp commentators have also evidently come to the conclusion that an ultimatum is not unshakable after all. This is reminiscent of certain interpretative maneuvers we witnessed in some circles before the definitive collapse of the Borten regime 10 years ago. Anyone who wants to promote a credible non-socialist cooperation should therefore refrain from this idle foolishness.

Christian People's Party chairman Kare Kristiansen made it clear that the statement on abortion is KRF's minimum requirement for a nonsocialist government. The party's parliamentary leader, Lars Korvald, maintained that this is a boundary that cannot be crossed while the newspaper VART LAND talks of a "principle that cannot be abandoned." And to make the party's stand even less debatable the party's vice chairman, Kjell Magne Bondevik, said during the radio political broadcast Saturday: "A government in which we participate must end the right to abortion on demand."

According to customary Norwegian usage this is impossible to misunderstand. It will be up to the Christian People's Party itself to decide whether the party wants to correct the Storting group's decision or perhaps determine that an ultimatum isn't an ultimatum after all.

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CSO: 3108

LIBERAL PARTY CONGRESS SEEKS CLEAR PROFILE BEFORE ELECTIONS

Party Seeks Independent "Green" Image

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Terje Svabo]

[Text] The Liberals are now trying to build themselves up as an independent "green" alternative in Norwegian politics. The collision with the Christian People's Party on the abortion issue means the end of the so-called center alternative. For this reason the Liberals don't want the government issue to dominate the campaign. Quite simply because the Liberal Party has no government alternative it can offer. The party is unenthusiastic about the possibility of being in the position after the election to make a choice as to whether a straight Conservative government is to succeed the Labor Party.

One of the things to be taken up at the Liberal Party's national congress, now gathering in Sandefjord, is the government issue. The congress will probably back a recommendation from the central committee that a replacement be found for the Labor Party rule. A nonsocialist majority in Storting should lead to a nonsocialist government.

The party will therefore vote for a three-party government that includes the Conservatives, without giving that party unconditional support. Such a government would operate from one issue to the next. But what if the alternative after the election is a continued Labor government or a straight Conservative government?

It is our understanding that the party leadership is divided on this point. But there is agreement that such a situation should preferably not arise. The reason is that the Liberals would rather not come in the situation again of being the party halting the formation of a nonsocialist government when there is a nonsocialist majority in Storting.

The party's leader, Hans Hammond Rossbach, received applause at the national meeting yesterday when he said he was tired of being asked for the Liberal

view of all conceivable government alternatives. There is reason to ask what kind of an attitude that is. If the Liberals and Rossbach want to be taken seriously it is obvious that the voters have a right to know where the Liberal Party stands on the various government alternatives.

The abortion stand of the Christian People's Party could prevent a government coalition of the Conservative, Center and Christian People's parties. The Conservative position on abortion is unacceptable to the Christian People's Party. The further consequence of the Christian People's Party stand is that the so-called center alternative is no longer possible. For the Liberal abortion stand also means the retention of the present abortion law with some cosmetic changes.

The Liberal leaders realize this and they feel that a government of the three center parties will not be the first or the second government alternative after the election. And the Liberals are girding themselves for another 4 years without any visible prospects for government power.

How will the party tackle this situation? From what we have learned the party sees itself as a kind of "watchdog" in Storting. If a nonsocialist government coalition is formed it must be watched closely. The Liberals will promote standpoints close to the views of the Center Party and Christian People's Party. It is hoped that this will influence a government in which the Conservative Party will pursue "center policies."

What then is the Liberal Party's political alternative for the voters 6 months before the election? In the introduction to the Storting election program to be discussed at the congress the party refers to itself as both radical and liberal. The Liberals feel they represent the green pole in Norwegian politics in contrast to the blue and red poles of the "growth as usual parties," the Conservative and Labor parties. On this basis the party will hammer out a program with greater emphasis on the small units in society.

The Liberals cannot be accused of having managed to form a crystal-clear alternative. Many will probably claim that the vacillating line is still quite prominent in the party. Few other parties would be likely to use this heading for a chapter in the program: "Too Much and Too Little Bureaucracy." This somewhat ambivalent attitude is due to the Liberal feeling that in some areas bureaucracy is too big or complex. But in other areas, in the Liberal view, bureaucracy is not strong enough. This applies to areas such as conservation and environmental protection and some sectors that safeguard the interests of the weak groups in society.

The Liberals are very critical of the government's use of oil revenues in the Norwegian economy. The party goes so far as to claim that the rate at which the oil money is used is a direct threat to employment in this country. Therefore the Liberals would like a much more cautious use of oil money while stepping down oil activities in the North Sea. The party does not want to have oil extracted north of the 62d parallel.

However if one reads the Liberal program one finds that there will be good use for oil revenues even in a Liberal-ruled Norway. The party promises new and costly measures in the health sector, an income goal to be established for fishermen by 1985, an increase in aid to underdeveloped countries to 1.7 percent of the Gross National Product, an extension of the North Norway railroad line and no closing of auxiliary lines, on the contrary the party wants to consider reopening lines that have been closed.

The party is justified in looking forward with some hope to the Storting election. The opinion polls warrant optimism and they are hoping for six seats, a gain of four. However the party's strategy means that it could run into the real problems only after the election is over.

Hans Hammond Rossbach has said earlier that he has mixed feelings about the Liberals achieving a decisive position. He has every reason for this. With the position it is staking out for itself in the political landscape the Liberal Party is creating an obvious chance of leaking at the seams in all directions.

Criticism of Conservatives, Labor

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Terje Svabo]

[Text] Sandefjord, 8 Mar--The Liberals favor amending the present abortion law to stress the right to life and human value of the fetus. The party's congress wants a school system without grades but thinks this might have to wait until the end of the next parliamentary period. The delegates voted 155 to 66 that Norway should continue to be a member of NATO. The congress unanimously supported a nonsocialist three-party government after the Storting election--not an unqualified cooperation but one based on separate issues. These were the main conclusions of the Liberal Party congress in Sandefjord where both the Labor Party and especially the Conservatives came under attack.

The congress was dominated by discussions on the government alternative, the abortion issue and grades in the public schools.

The congress ended with the final vote to have the Liberal Party support the formation of a nonsocialist three-party government. However the Liberals will not give such a government their unqualified support. This will be evaluated from case to case.

Former chairman of the Young Liberals, Olav Ljosne, presented a proposal saying that if it proved impossible to form a center government the Labor Party should continue in power. A test vote gave the proposal 11 votes. The debate on this issue at the congress showed that there is a great disinclination in the Liberal ranks to work with either the Conservatives or Labor. Even so the delegates

thought it was proper to seek a replacement for the Labor regime. The Liberals believe it is possible to work deliberately to influence a government in which the Conservatives help in pursuing "center policies."

With six opposed the congress voted to add an amendment to the objectives paragraph of the present abortion law stressing the right to life of the fetus and its human value and society's duty to protect unborn life. The resolution means that the Liberals support a law maintaining the principle of self-determined abortion, although the Liberals would like the final decision on an abortion to be made by the woman and if possible after consultation with the man.

The debate at the congress showed that there are advocates of a very restrictive abortion law as well as supporters of the present law in the Liberal Party. A proposal that abortions should be granted on medical grounds alone received eight votes.

The resolution states that a woman seeking an abortion and her partner should be given mandatory ethical, medical and social advice. Some 50 delegates favored making this consultation voluntary.

The consequences of the Liberal abortion stand will be similar to those outlined by Kare Willoch with regard to the Conservatives.

In the debate on NATO it appeared that the Liberals regard the alliance and Norwegian membership in it as a necessary evil in the current situation. Those who supported continued Norwegian membership argued that there is no better alternative for Norway. The resolution stated that NATO membership must be maintained until a satisfactory all-European security system can be achieved under UN control along with a mutual dismantling of the military blocs. The party further opposed any NATO attempt to expand its sector to include geographical areas outside the present membership region. And the Liberals don't want NATO to work in other areas aside from the defense and security policy sectors.

Although party leaders insist that the disagreement does not involve a real split it seems clear that they would have preferred to avoid this vote which showed how many people at the Liberal congress would like to withdraw from NATO. The voting had a disturbing effect at a congress otherwise primarily characterized by agreement.

But there was no unanimity on the question of grades in middle schools either. After a long debate in which views on the use of grades were sharply divided the congress voted 119 to 83 for a compromise proposal. This stated that the Liberals would maintain the use of grades in the forthcoming parliamentary period but that their goal is a middle school system without grades.

It was further stated that the schools are not prepared to eliminate the grading system today but that in the next Storting period the Liberals will work to establish the proper economic and educational foundation for the achievement of this goal.

In a statement the congress called for strengthening the health service outside of institutions.

A statement on nuclear policy says that NATO must take the initiative on talks with the Soviet Union concerning nonplacement of new nuclear weapons. The Liberals will work for a nuclear-free Europe through a reduction in the number of nuclear weapons via mutual discussions. In addition the party favors nuclear-free zones in Europe, limited to northern Europe if necessary. The reasoning is that the substance and extent of these zones must not be frozen in the initial situation but should come as the result of negotiations.

In response to a Young Liberal proposal the party opposed compulsory military service for women.

One-Third Oppose NATO

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Terje Svabo]

[Text] Sandeffjord, 8 Mar--A third of the delegates at the Liberal national congress--66 delegates--voted against continued Norwegian membership in NATO. The party's chairman, member of parliament and leader of the parliamentary group, Hans Hammond Rossbach, denied to AFTENPOSTEN even so that the Liberals were sharply divided in their view of alliance policy. Among other things Rossbach said that the minority vote was just a little larger than the last time the issue was discussed at a national congress. The Liberal chairman also stressed the point that the party's primary wish is for a center government.

Hans Hammond Rossbach summed up his impressions of the congress like this for AFTENPOSTEN: "The debate has shown that there is now enthusiasm and drive in a united Liberal Party. The disagreement between the party and the Young Liberals on the NATO question does not mean that NATO is a controversial issue in the party."

Rossbach claimed that Liberal policy has now been broadened. He said that the program debate showed that the party is able to discuss vital issues in factual groups such as the government issue, grades in the school system and nuclear-free zones.

The resolution on nuclear policy states that in the initial position one should not take a rigid stand on such things as the extent and substance of nuclear-free zones. Does that mean the Liberals now support a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic region?

"No, it can't be interpreted like that. The Liberals want to reduce the number of nuclear weapons. Nuclear-free zones could be a means to this end. This

could involve nuclear-free zones in Europe or in the North. In this process we must work with NATO and the Nordic lands."

But 66 of the delegates at the congress voted against continued Norwegian membership in NATO. Doesn't that mean the Liberals are sharply split on alliance policy?

"I don't agree with that interpretation. It is well-known that the party and its youth organization do not agree on this matter. The minority was just a little larger than it was the last time the question was raised at a party congress. Just remember that about 50 of the delegates at the congress came from the Young Liberals. NATO is not an issue of controversy in the party, we have put that question to rest and would rather concentrate on how we can build up a strong national conventional defense," Rossbach said.

With regard to the government question the congress decided to back the formation of a nonsocialist three-party government after the fall election. What will the Liberal Party do if the alternative is a straight Conservative government?

"I see no reason to answer that now. It is the abortion issue and the attitude of the Christian People's Party toward government cooperation that are the decisive issues now.

"The Christian People's Party must now decide what it thinks about the Liberal stand on abortion. Let me stress that a united national congress strongly favored a center government," Rossbach said.

Asked if the Liberals wanted to come into a decisive position after the fall election, Rossbach answered:

"All parties, including the Liberal Party, want attention and influence. Our best chance for this would come if we held a deciding position. I don't see anything undemocratic about this kind of position, it is always necessary to gather a majority for an issue in Storting. Today the Conservatives can shift the balance on many issues.

"On the other hand it is obvious that sitting in such a fulcrum position involves enormous responsibility and big decisions for both individuals and the party," replied Hans Hammond Rossbach.

Conservative Newspaper Comments

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Mar 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] The Liberal Party favors a nonsocialist government if the fall election provides a base for one but the party will not take part in a government that

includes the Conservatives. At the national congress in Sandefjord where Conservative hatred flourished as never before the Liberals' indeterminable attitude toward the government question was expressed in a resolution that in familiar Liberal style--and despite the fact that it was approved unanimously--left more open questions than it provided clarifying answers for. The Liberals would simply not be themselves if they committed themselves to a clear and simple position on an issue involving central dividing lines in our political life. Therefore the Liberal Party made the reservation that it would follow a nonsocialist government from one issue to another. This means that if the Liberals are in a decisive position after the election--which heaven forbid--a nonsocialist coalition would have to rule at the pleasure of the Liberal Party. We do not hesitate to say that such a government situation would be one of the most unfortunate ones we can imagine.

We don't doubt that the Liberals are sincere when they say that the ruling Labor government should be replaced. The Labor Party needs a pause for reflection, it has been said, but the Liberal Party wouldn't mind helping the Labor Party get back into power again when the party has become sufficiently radicalized. That probably wouldn't take long. And with the Liberals "hanging in the balance" it would be up to the party itself to decide when to bring down a nonsocialist government.

In principle the Liberals want a so-called center government in which the party could form an alliance with the Christian People's Party and the Center Party. And it is well-known that some people in both those parties would prefer that kind of solution but there is little to work on there since the Conservatives have shown signs of giving a broader parliamentary platform on their own than the three parties combined. In addition we find it hard to believe that the Liberal stand on abortion would be any more acceptable to the Christian People's Party than the Conservative stand. Paradoxically the abortion issue is one of a small handful on which the Conservatives and the Liberals are close to agreement on both basic assumptions and conclusions.

As the above clearly indicates people with nonsocialist sympathies should view it as a major task to provide the nation with a nonsocialist majority government after the election. We must have a government that can count on a loyal cooperative relationship with a majority in Storting and can thus gain passage for resolutions that are necessary in the long run even though they are unpopular in the short run. These considerations would call for keeping decisive influence away from the Liberals. For the Liberals are still the Liberals, as they demonstrated in abundance at the congress in Sandefjord.

Therefore the voters should know that the only way to get a nonsocialist majority government in the next parliamentary period is to vote in a Storting majority of Conservative, Christian People's Party and Center delegates. If the last two decide they can't work with the Conservatives because of the abortion question the Conservatives should assume sole responsibility for forming a government. Never has a power shift been needed more than it is now.

Failed to Clarify Stand

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 10 Mar 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] According to DAGBLADET the Liberal congress in Sandefjord was an epoch-making event. It is our understanding that the party has taken the giant step from being a green sect with a narrow environmental and resources emphasis to being what one might be tempted to call a normal party. DAGBLADET reported that an election program was hammered out at the congress which we understand is supposed to increase Storting representation from two to 20 or so. Unfortunately in its euphoria DAGBLADET seems to have forgotten its old proclamations of independence from party politics.

The rest of us who have a more sober basis for evaluating the Sandefjord meeting must conclude that the Liberals are still the Liberals. It is hard for us to find the big clarifications that were made at the meeting. Instead there were many compromises--and many opportunities for interpretation in the future. In that way we can say that the Liberals are following many of their most characteristic, though not necessarily their best, traditions.

The fall election will be a struggle over what kind of government we will have, more than anything else. We will either have a continued Labor government led by Gro Harlem Brundtland or a nonsocialist government with Kare Willoch as prime minister. There is still some discussion as to whether a nonsocialist government would consist of the Conservatives alone or would be based on a broader nonsocialist coalition. Personally we feel it is obvious that the answer would be a straight Conservative regime. The resolution passed in the Christian People's Party's Storting group on the party's relation to the abortion issue along with Lars Korvald's explanation of the resolution made that quite clear. We have said before that this is a viewpoint we can rely on unless Korvald himself offered a different explanation. And so far he hasn't done so.

The Liberal view of the government question is clear on only one point. The party wants to remove the Labor Party from its governing position and Gro Harlem Brundtland as prime minister. That is a political goal for the Liberal Party in the election campaign. Now it is a long time since the Liberals abandoned the idea of always cooperating with the left, so we will let that side of the matter rest. Where the Liberals begin to show their true colors is when the party rejects the idea of a Willoch government or any other constellation allowing the Conservatives to take part in the cabinet. In our opinion that is where the Liberals lose touch with reality. The Liberals will not even discuss a government with the Conservatives because the congress--according to Storting representative Odd Einar Dørum--could not "comment on all the hypothetical government situations." But if Dørum and the Liberal congress would not comment on such a government situation Liberal voters, like all other

voters, will know that this fall they must take a stand on whether the Labor Party should continue to be the political driving force in the nation or if this job should be taken over by the Conservatives and whether the prime minister will be named Gro Harlem Brundtland or Kare Willoch.

The hypothetical government situation the Liberals did not have anything against commenting on is a center government consisting of the Christian People's Party, the Center Party and the Liberals. It is hard to imagine a more hypothetical situation. This was stressed even further after Kjell Magne Bondevik said that it would be just as difficult for the Christian People's Party to cooperate with the Liberals as with the Conservatives due to the new abortion views of these parties.

The main feature of the new Liberal view on abortion is that it would give women the right to decide about abortion. But for election reasons this conclusion is wrapped up in so many reservations that the whole thing has a very fuzzy effect. It is strange to see the problems parties that now want to say yes to self-determination on abortion have in expressing themselves clearly even though the Labor Party has long since carried out the principle in practical politics.

The third big issue at the congress was defense policy and our relationship to NATO. The vote on NATO membership showed that almost a third of the people at the congress wanted Norway to withdraw from NATO. It is our impression that even old NATO opponents do not view this as a relevant political goal. Such a deep split on such an important issue in such a small party as the Liberal Party does not exactly help to inspire confidence.

It is said of liberals of the old Liberal Party type that they are people with both feet solidly planted in thin air. The Liberal congress in Sandefjord did nothing to undermine this characterization.

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CSO: 3108

COMMUNIST PARTY TROUBLED IN TRYING TO TAKE STAND ON POLAND

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Feb 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] For those who may have been surprised that the Norwegian Communist Party's popularity curve is flattening out along the zero line in the opinion polls, a solemn party declaration on Poland comes as a good explanation. After New Year's the central committee of the NKP [Norwegian Communist Party] found it necessary to send its county and local committees "material on the recent events in Poland"; through the party organ FRIHETEN that material has also been made available to people outside the circle of loyal party members. For one must be very firm in the faith if great, shuddering misgivings are not to seize upon him when he reads the party's authorized statements.

While the West European communist parties have taken in some cases very clear stands on the workers' revolt against the effects of the socialist system in Poland, the NKP takes a "both-and" line: The Polish workers felt "rightly or wrongly" that they "had no other alternative than to take drastic and dramatic steps." Since there is no class opposition between plant management and workers, "we may say that in reality a strike means that the workers actually go to battle with themselves," says NKP's central committee.

Here we perceive a deep contempt on the part of the Norwegian comrades for the Polish workers' ability to act as politically thinking individuals; they are branded by the NKP not only as being misled politically and as union members, but also as a little stupid and incapable of understanding their own best interests. And it was precisely that same attitude on the part of the Polish communist party that set off the upheavals in Poland. The NKP goes on as follows: "When the workers there go on strike, that happens chiefly because of deficient understanding in the leadership or deficient socialist consciousness among the workers. In the Polish situation there appears to have been a lack of understanding on both sides."

The NKP's description of Polish reality will be recognized by very few. Poland has eliminated the pre-socialist anti-Semitism, we read in the central committee's material--and we may ask: Then was it a pure *socialist* anti-Semitism the Polish Jews experienced in 1968, when most of them were driven out of the country by the leaders who are now again sitting in positions of power? Further on we hear that "Poland today is a modern society with a highly productive material and technological base." Even most Polish communists would admit today that that is a very great exaggeration.

With regard to several other propositions and declarations, too, the NKP is far behind both its Polish and its Soviet comrades. The Norwegian communists acknowledge that material incentives must continue to play an important part in the economy, but these cannot take the place of "continuous schooling, of ideological and political struggle," for during the development of the socialist society "moral methods of stimulation will become an every more important source of contributions." But that is contrary to what is actually happening in East Europe (and in China), where economic incentives are now relied upon more and more for increased effort. It becomes almost pathetic when the NKP recommends intensified collectivization of the land in Poland, where 79 percent of the farms are in private hands; the food crisis in the east has forced not only the Poles but last month the Soviet party leadership as well to rely more on the peasants' private land and profit-oriented effort. Now the Soviet Union's millions of collective farmers will get to keep more livestock of their own on somewhat larger private bits of land.

The communist parties both in the east and in the west are pushed by the realities to a few course corrections that have obviously been completely missed by the book-taught, straight-steering NKP. And it is a gratifying sign of political health in our own society that the opinion pollers have trouble registering the NKP at all when they go to the Norwegian grassroots with their questionnaires.

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CSO: 3108

NORWEGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY FAULTED IN BREZHNEV SPEECH

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Mar 81 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] In politics and diplomacy what is not said can be just as important as wordy statements. Skips and omissions in a significant political speech can mean so much, both positively and negatively. To take one of the most recent examples, in his 3-hour speech at the party congress President Leonid Brezhnev neglected to mention Norway among the countries that distinguish themselves as good neighbors of the Soviet Union. Finland and Sweden, on the other hand, were spoken of in that category. The chairman of the NKP [Norwegian Communist Party], one of the guests at the party congress, has characterized that omission as an expression of Soviet displeasure, "especially with the stockpiling and the fact that Norway has become a part of NATO's atomic strategy." Martin Gunnar Knutsen's party organ FRIHETEN, which has always had a watchful eye for subtle political nuances, has supplemented that interpretation with a detailed list of actions on Norway's part that may have caused the Soviet Union's displeasure.

Of course we would rather have seen that the top leader of our neighbor country had directed some positive word in Norway's direction, even though no mention must be assumed to be better than an outspoken criticism or direct attack. Now we can only observe--if statements are used as a basis--that Norway is placed in the same category as Denmark, while countries like Turkey and Greece were mentioned, and in a positive way. We leave the deeper nuances for the NKP chairman's surer evaluation.

Naturally it is exclusively the Soviet leader's affair to decide what he will say or not say in his speeches. When, for example, Brezhnev did not mention the communist parties in Italy and Spain among "the overwhelming majority" of parties that have very good relations with the Soviet Union, that may well be an affirmation that relations with the "Eurocommunists" are not good enough. The leaders of the two parties did not go to the party congress in Moscow, either, but sent lower representatives. But it is decidedly more sensational that the Soviet congress hosts tried to tell one of the Italian party delegates, foreign affairs expert Giancarlo Pajetta, what he should say--or rather omit to say--in his speech. For 5 days the arrangers of the congress tried to get Pajetta to strike critical statements about the Afghanistan invasion from his text--and when he refused, he did not get to deliver the speech at the congress itself.

Nothing of the kind, of course, happened to Martin Gunnar K. Jtsen. In his speech to the Soviet party activists he could freely tell about the misfortune that "our country is gradually being drawn into the global misanthropic nuclear strategy of the United States." Nor did the NKP chairman risk any attempt by his hosts to censure his speech, for he kept quiet about the misfortune that the Afghanistan occupation is both for the Afghan people and for détente. There is obviously a difference between omissions--but they are no less revealing on that account.

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CSO: 3108

DEFENSE MINISTER PROPOSES MEASURES TO RETAIN PILOTS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 26 Feb 81 p 3

[Text] "Increased intake of pilot candidates, longer service obligation, and a revision of the assignment system can contribute to the air force's being able to hold more flyers," Defense Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg said yesterday in the Storting. He was answering a justified question from Sverre Stray (H [Conservative Party]) about what measures the Ministry of Defense will propose in that field.

Sverre Stray, M.P., pointed out that the starting pay for military fliers is very low, that the service involves great risk, and that fliers do not have different insurance arrangements from others under the pay scale. If a different type of insurance is desired, the flier must pay higher premiums than others in most cases. Stray also mentioned that the assignment system within the armed forces causes problems--for fliers as well as others.

"This means that most military fliers leave the service as soon as they get a chance under the regulations. They then get jobs in civil aviation," said Stray, who said that the departures from the armed forces did not decrease after SAS [Scandinavian Airlines System] stopped taking in new fliers. That tells something about how poor the fliers consider conditions in the air force to be!

"It is the most experienced fliers that disappear, a thing that makes the number of experienced fliers disproportionately great [sic]. Concern for the air force's effectiveness and combat readiness, in particular, suggests that something must be done now," said Stray.

Defense Minister Stoltenberg said that the intake of pilot candidates has been increased, that the service obligation has been lengthened from 5 to 8 years, and also explained that an attempt will be made to arrive at a system that would permit licensed civil aviation pilots to be used by the armed forces. He said that a revision of the prevailing assignment system might give military families a more stable existence.

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CSO: 3108

COAST DEFENSE FORCES ORDER ARTILLERY FROM BOFORS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Feb 81 p 10

[Report by Knut Falchenberg]

[Text] The biggest single contract in the history of the Coast Artillery was signed Friday with the Swedish gun factory Bofors. Norway is buying eight guns for half a billion kroner, and has got an option on more. The purchase is connected with an industrial treaty with Sweden.

The eight cannon ordered in this round will replace older German materiel at coastal forts from Trondheimsfjord north. Although the first cannon will not be delivered until 1984, the ministry is planning to begin payment under next year's budget. The entire amount of 500 million kroner will not be paid out until 1988-1989.

This start on modernization of the Coast Artillery is in keeping with the recommendations of the defense committee. The new cannons will be at least three times as big as the present cannons of the same caliber. They are 120 mm cannon with revolving towers. They are especially designed for the Coast Artillery.

At the same time that the contract for purchase of the cannon was signed with Bofors, a protocol concerning an obligatory industrial cooperation between Norway and Sweden was signed. The object of this is that Swedish return purchases in Norway will compensate for the Norwegian outlays, but no concrete projects are specified in the protocol.

According to AFTENPOSTEN's information, the works connected with securing the cannon in steel and concrete--so-called fortification--will amount to about 300 million kroner for 8 cannon. These are contracts that will later be awarded to Norwegian firms.

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CSO: 3108

ARMED FORCES PLAN TO MODERNIZE WEAPONRY IN NEW PURCHASES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 3 Mar 81 p 39

[Article by Olav Trygge Storvik: "Norway To Get Precision Weapons"]

[Text] The development of new weapons and building up of extensive weapons systems will always have a direct and palpable effect on Norwegian security, because of our geographical position in one of the world's most sensitive military strategic areas. Prominent examples are the deployment of the Soviet long-range bomber "Backfire," which can threaten lines of communication across the sea, and the impressive Soviet naval expansion, which seems to be aimed at development of independent naval groups in which all weapons systems at sea, both on and under the surface, can operate in conjunction.

But in a few areas the development of weapons favors small countries with limited resources. When David defeated Goliath, it was because he hit the giant with great force and precision where he was most vulnerable. The development of electronically guided weapons that can be fired from great distances and destroy the target with very high accuracy will presumably give the same possibilities during the period to the turn of the century to small countries with defensively organized military forces.

Karl Holberg, who is in charge of research at the Defense Research Institute at Kjeller, tells AFTENPOSTEN that when Norway decided on the American F-16 combat plane, a choice was made for a weapons platform in the air that will have to be used from now until the turn of the century and perhaps longer.

The F-16 is a very high-grade combat plane which is based in part on a wholly new technology, and the plane's performance and characteristics probably surpass those of all corresponding plane types. But Holberg says that in the future greater weight will be attached to the weapons a plane can carry than to the performance of the weapons platform itself. This is due in the first place to the fact that the cost of planes rises very fast from generation to generation. At the next crossroads we may perhaps be confronted with the painful recognition that we cannot afford the highest-grade combat plane, or perhaps that the developments have led to planes' no longer being "cost effective," so that we should rely on other weapons systems in the air--e.g., precision guided rockets or what are called "drones." These are small, unmanned, plane-like weapons with which the Americans

are now experimenting a great deal and that we can buy for a unit price of 150,000 kroner. In the second place, weapons technology is developing in such a way that both the price and the effectiveness of antiaircraft weapons may lead to planes' no longer being so useful for a number of missions as they have been in the past. This applies, e.g., to ground support operations for infantry units.

For these reasons research chief Holberg thinks it will be important to adapt the F-16 to the development of weapons technology in the years to come, and first and foremost to develop such weapons as the plane can deliver with a high degree of precision, with the aid of target-seeking devices and computers, from outside of the zone directly threatened by the enemy's antiaircraft weapons. This applies particularly to rockets that can be used against ships from a great distance.

The most important tasks within the army are increased mobility and firepower. Work is now under way with the creation of entirely new types of brigade for the 1990's in which both of these objectives are taken into account. "Brigade 90" is conceived as equipped with antiaircraft rockets to such an extent that the units can combat and survive close attacks by planes. The brigade will also have greater firepower in the form of more antitank defense and better and more accurate artillery and howitzers. The infantry battalions will be fully motorized and given great tactical mobility by replacing wheeled vehicles to a large extent with tracked vehicles. It is also planned to set up some brigades that can carry on a more offensive defense, the so-called "heavy brigades." This type of brigade will also be equipped with a tank battalion and mechanized rifle companies, all of which will be equipped with armored personnel carriers.

Not many years from now the Navy will be faced with the procurement of new submarines to replace the old "Kobben" class. In cooperation with the FRG a new type has been developed that is suitable for both Norwegian and German conditions. The new submarines will be bigger than those we have now and will be able to carry several torpedoes that can be launched at several targets simultaneously. This means a definite raising of the level of the submarine arm, but because of the high cost the number of new submarines will be reduced in comparison to the fleet we have today--and in naval circles there is no agreement on whether the higher level will outweigh the reduction in number.

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CSO: 3108

YOUNG CONSERVATIVES' GROUP BACKS 'CREDIBLE DEFENSE'

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 12 Mar 81 p 11

[Report by Karsten Wiik]

[Text] "Our freedom requires defense," AFTENPOSTEN was told by Sveinung Lunde, chairman of the Young Conservatives, in connection with the defense policy campaign the Young Conservatives are arranging this week and next. "The fact that we find the time ripe for such a campaign is partly because strong forces in the Labor Party still want to get Norway out of NATO," Lunde says.

"In the past, unity has prevailed concerning Norway's defense policy, but the debate on stockpiling and on atom-free zones shows quite clearly that within the Labor Party there are forces that want to get Norway out of NATO," says Lunde, who points to the AUF's [Labor Party Youth Organization's] traditional opposition to NATO.

"Along with continued Norwegian membership in NATO, the Young Conservatives are for an active disarmament and détente work," Lunde continues.

"But disarmament and détente cannot take place on an unsound basis. A unilateral Norwegian disarmament would be the same as laying the country open for a possible occupying power."

Are the young letting themselves get involved in defense questions?

"We believe very decidedly that the young are in it. The Young Conservatives are the only youth organization of any size that has supported Norwegian NATO membership always and unambiguously."

The Young Conservatives go further against political refusal to do military service.

"It is important for a people's defense to be representative of the people it is to defend. We are skeptical of every attempt to broaden the grounds for refusal to do military service. We could get to the point where Norway would in practice have volunteer armed forces," says Young Conservatives Chairman Sveinung Lunde.

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C50: 3108

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATION PROMOTES INCREASED DEFENSE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 12 Mar 81 p 11

[Text] "The campaign 'Stand Guard Over Norway' has begun to move. We are counting on steadily increasing activity throughout the fall, in support of the Armed Forces and Norway's western foundations," AFTENPOSTEN is told by Rolv Brandtzæg, chairman of the movement. In the course of the scant 3 weeks the campaign has been under way, 50,000 kroner in contributions has come in.

A principal objective of the campaign "Stand Guard Over Norway" is to serve as an audible mouthpiece for what the members of the group regard as the silent majority of the people. A few protest groups have had the field to themselves too long, they say.

"Lately we have seen several action groups grow up, of the type of 'No to Atomic Weapons' and 'Action Against Stockpiling.' It is time for somebody to stand up against these pressure groups, and the politicians should take note of the broad support among the people for our traditional security policy," says Rolv Brandtzæg.

He is the newly elected chairman of the action committee, which so far has gathered support from 7 volunteer defense organizations with a total of 25,000 members.

The first step was taken by the Norwegian Reserve Officers' Union, with support from the Norwegian Defense Union, the Women's Defense League, and the War Veterans' League. But Brandtzæg emphasizes that the action group will operate in the future as a completely independent entity, strictly separate from the organizations that stand behind it. The operation will be self-financing with the help of small contributions, sale of bumper stickers, and a 36-page booklet on defense and security that will soon be printed. This "fact booklet" will also be sent out to many schools as classroom material, according to AFTENPOSTEN's information.

Rolv Brandtzæg says that it is planned to organize a "Defense Day" in the Oslo area closer to summer. In addition, local groups all over the country are being urged to drum up debate meetings. The action group will distribute brochures and take part in newspaper debates.

"Our future activity will also depend in part on initiatives from those who oppose our views. Our objection is not that people are advocating disarmament or

getting rid of atomic weapons. We are all for that. The disagreement revolves around the means to be used, around how we can best and most safely attain the high aim.

"There we feel that the campaigners against stockpiling or important aspects of NATO policy have a tendency to split certain elements loose from their context without indicating any overall solution. We will try to counter that form of debate with our views and with factual information," Rolv Brandtæg tells AFTEN-POSTEN.

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CSO: 3108

TWO THIRDS FAVOR WOMENS' PARTICIPATION IN DEFENSE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 14 Mar 81 p 3

[Text] Two thirds of those asked say that it will be desirable for women to take part one way or another in the defense of the country, it appears from the Week's Poll conducted by Norwegian Market Data. Far fewer, but still one fourth, feel that there should be general compulsory military service for women. The poll was taken in January of this year.

As usual, the survey was done by personal interviews of about 1,500 persons over 15 years of age.

Question 1: "Does it seem to you desirable or undesirable for women to take part one way or another in the defense of the country?"

	All Who Were Asked	Men	Women
	%	%	%
Desirable	66	69	62
Undesirable	32	29	35
Don't know	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100

Question 2: "Are you for or against introduction of general compulsory military service for women?"

	All Who Were Asked	Men	Women
	%	%	%
For	26	29	23
Against	63	60	66
Don't know	11	11	11
Total	100	100	100

Among persons over 60 years old there is somewhat less support for women in the Armed Forces than in younger age groups. When the answers are sorted by the political sympathies of those asked, the greatest percentage in favor of compulsory military service for women is found among Liberal Party and Conservative Party voters, with 30 and 29 percent for. The least support is found among

persons who would vote for the Christian People's Party and the Socialist-Left Party, of whom 8 and 18 percent respectively could accept general compulsory military service for women.

IRANIAN PAPER SEES COUNTRY AS EEC'S 10TH COLONY

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 20 Jan 81 p 12

[Article by Hesamoddin Emami]

[Text] It appears that Greece, the cradle of the world's democracy and the bastion of the recent antimilitarism in Europe, despite all her differences with Turkey, an important NATO member, has finally been dragged under the umbrella of the European Common Market.

Greek society had been constantly at odds with their government's policy in recent years. Greece is a poor country with shipping, fishing and tourism as her main sources of income. Yet, because of their military ties with the United States, powerful European governments have put Greece in such a position as to force her to spend much of welfare budget for military purposes.

Yet, Western Europe did not stop there, and we did see that at the end of the decade of the 1960's it imposed, by a coup d'etat, the government of the colonels on Greece, thus putting an end to the national struggle led by that country's respected statesman, Papandreou. The Greek struggle against the rule of the colonels had been one of the most shining chapters in the history of recent struggles in Europe. Anti-American feeling because of the American support of the government of the colonels resulted in its collapse and replacement by a new non-military conservative government. The coming into power of the new government coincided with the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and the occupation of a large section of that island by the Turkish army.

Even though the conflict between Greece and Turkey had help heighten the already existing anti-American feeling, yet, it was coupled with the promotion of Greek national pride and tacit U.S. support of the Greek armed forces in its confrontation with the Turkish aggression. While arguments with the United States over the Greek bases were continuing and Greece refused to take part in NATO maneuvers, it had no alternative but to build up its armed forces against Turkey which, like Greece itself, was a NATO member. Yet, in spite of all the hard bargaining and discussions between Greece, NATO and the United States over the leasing of military bases, she was not able to get their support for Greek rights against Turkey. The reason was that Turkey, as far as the protecting of NATO's interests in the eastern Mediterranean and along the borders with Iran, the Arab countries and the Soviet Union, was more important strategically for NATO and the United States. With the

coming into power of the coup regime in Greece, that country's hope for a solution of the Cyprus issue and the expulsion of the Turkish army from that island all but faded away. That was why the country chose the second alternative of again putting its military bases at the disposal of the United States seemingly to be able to use the rental fees to cover part of its military expenses.

It was in line with this concession that the West was able to extract another one and bring Greece under the protection of the European Common Market.

It must be noted that while membership in the Common Market had been beneficial for some members, for Greece it was considered to be an unwanted sort of orientation towards the West. The original members who had first planned the organization were such industrial countries as West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and Holland, all of which enjoyed a high standard of living with a much higher gross national product and higher per capita income than Greece. All countries in Europe cannot be considered "European." Greece is one of them. Its ancient civilization and its oriental characteristics based on an agricultural society still prevails. For these reasons, that country will not be able to benefit from membership in the Common Market the way that, for example, West Germany does.

Greek membership in the Common Market should be evaluated in that light. That country's membership is in line with the Common Market's program for expansion which is to be completed by 1985 with the absorption of Spain and Portugal, two countries that have recently been freed from the bonds of dictatorship. Greece is the 10th member of the Common Market, a membership which does away with the country's physical borders and customs restrictions with other member nations. Under the existing regulations, custom restrictions between Greece and other Common Market members will gradually disappear within the next 5 years and her currency, the drachma, will be given the "honor" of becoming one of those accepted as one of the units of the joint Common Market currency system. On the other hand, Greece will no longer enjoy the right of free trade with the rest of the world and will be forced to adjust her decisions with Common Market regulations. The West European countries have also "honored" the Greek language as the seventh official language of the organization, with that country's prime minister being able to sit alongside such leaders as Giscard D'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt and express his views on various matters and have the right of veto.

But, the concessions made by Greece are not few. Considering Greece's geographical and military position, her membership in the Common Market means that she will never be able to argue with NATO about such issues as Turkey or to disobey. That is because the country is, from the economic point of view, nailed to the Common Market. In addition, with its commercial fleet becoming part of that of the Common Market, the organization will become a dominant maritime power in the world. Also, the Common Market will get control of Greece's bauxite, nickel and asbestos resources, materials which it is now importing from other countries.

With the economy, customs and tradition of the country taken into view, Greece will pay a considerable price for her membership in the Common Market. It will confront the country with problems far more serious than those created for Britain, Denmark and Ireland following their membership in the organization. Many people in Greece, including leaders of the minority, fear that the flow of goods into the country that will follow the removal of custom restrictions will gradually destroy

national industries. Membership in the European Common Market heralds the promise of "industrialization" of the country, but Greece's industrialization will be like the industrialization of Iran during the reign of the shah, which was nothing but the establishment of a number of assembly plants with the profits flowing into the pockets of a few multinational companies and the United States and Europe. Another loss Greece will have to bear is in its agriculture. The country will be forced to adjust its present low prices of agricultural products with the high prices of other Common Market member nations which will automatically increase the cost of living considerably. For the very same reason the question of Greece's membership in the European Common Market is currently the most important foreign and domestic issue in that country. Minority politicians in the country are hoping to make that an issue in the coming general elections in order to gain majority control in parliament and bring down the government. But experience has shown that nothing short of a deep and profound social upheaval could prevent Greece from being dragged under the European Common Market umbrella.

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